SCRAPED, STROKED, AND BOUND

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

23

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SCRAPED, STROKED, AND BOUND

MATERIALLY ENGAGED READINGS OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

edited by

Jonathan Wilcox

BREPOLS

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Epigraphs

*Lit*era *me pandat sermonis fida ministra.*
Omnes alme meos fratres [...] uoce saluta.

May the letter, faithful servant of speech, reveal me;
greet, O kindly [book], all my brothers with thy voice.[1]

Aldred, glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels,
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, f. 259r

[1] Text from L. NEES, "Reading Aldred's colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels", *Speculum* 78 (2003), pp. 333-377, at p. 341; translation from M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (London, 2003), p. 103. See also J. ROBERTS, "Aldred signs off from glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels", in: *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. A.R. RUMBLE (Cambridge, 2006: *Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies* 5), pp. 28-43.

Scriptor: Scriptorum princeps ego nec obitura deinceps. Laus mea nec fama quis sim mea littera clama.
Littera: Te tua scriptura quem signat picta figura. Predicat Eadwinum fama per secula vivum. Ingenium cuius libri decus indicat huius. Quem tibi seque datum munus deus accipe gratum.

The scribe: I am the chief of scribes, and neither my praise nor my fame shall die; shout out, oh my letter, who I may be.
The letter: By my fame your script proclaims you, Eadwine, whom the painted figure represents, alive through the ages, whose genius the beauty of this book demonstrates. Receive, O God, the book and its donor as an acceptable gift.[2]

Eadwine's colophon, around the portrait of the scribe,
the Eadwine Psalter, MS Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17. 1, f. 283r

[2] Text from M.R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900-1904), 2, p. 987; translation from T.A. HESLOP, "Eadwine and his portrait", in: *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. M. GIBSON, T.A. HESLOP and R.W. PFAFF (London, 1992), pp. 178-185, at p. 180.

Preyeth for þe saul of frere Ion lacy anchor and reclused in þe new castel upon tynde þe wiche þat wrooth þis book and lymned hit to his awne vse, and aftur to othur, in exitynge hem to deuocion and preyers to god. And þerfor, for þe blessinge and loue of god, and oure lady, and of seint michael, and of him þ^t^ made þis book, þ^t^ neuer man ne woman lete departe þe engeliche from þe latyn for diuers causes þ^t^ been good and lawful to my felynge.

John Lacy's address to the reader in gold letters,
MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, ff. 101v-102r.[3]

[3] M. Rust, "'*Lymned to his awne vse*': The illuminated realm of John Lacy, book artisan and anchorite, in MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94", *infra*, p. 202.

Mec feonda sum feore besnyþede,
woruldstrenga binom, wætte siþþan,
dyfde on wætre, dyde eft þonan,
sette on sunnan, þær ic swiþe beleas
herum þam þe ic hæfde. Heard mec siþþan
snað seaxses ecg, sindrum begrunden;
fingras feoldan, ond mec fugles wyn
geond speddropum spyrede geneahhe,
ofer brunne brerd, beamtelge swealg,
streames dæle, stop eft on mec,
siþade sweartlast. Mec siþþan wrah
hæleð hleobordum, hyde beþenede,
gierede mec mid golde; forþon me gliwedon
wrætlic weorc smiþa, wire bifongen.
Nu þa gereno ond se reada telg
ond þa wuldorgestеald wide mære
dryhtfolca helm, nales dol wite.
Gif min bearn wera brucan willað,
hy beoð þy gesundran ond þy sigefæstran,
heortum þy hwætran ond þy hygebliþran,
ferþe þy frodran, habbaþ freonda þy ma,
swæsra ond gesibbra, soþra ond godra,
tilra ond getreowra, þa hyra tyr ond ead
estum ycað ond hy arstafum
lissum bilecgað ond hi lufan fæþmum
fæste clyppað. Frige hwæt ic hatte,
niþum to nytte. Nama min is mære,
hæleþum gifre ond halig sylf.

A life-thief stole my world-strength,
Ripped off flesh and left me skin,
Dipped me in water and drew me out,
Stretched me bare in the tight sun;
The hard blade, clean steel, cut,
Scraped – fingers folded, shaped me.
Now the bird’s once wind-stiff joy
Darts often to the horn’s dark rim,

Sucks wood stain, steps back again –
With a quick scratch of power, tracks
Black on my body, points trails.
Shield-boards clothe me and stretched hide,
A skin laced with gold. The bright song
Of smiths glistens on me in filigree tones.
Now decorative gold and crimson dye,
Cloisoned jewels and a coat of glory
Proclaim the world's protector far and wide –
Let no fool fault these treasured claims.
If the children of men make use of me,
They will be safer and surer of heaven,
Bolder in heart, more blessed in mind,
Wiser in soul: they will find friends,
Companions and kinsmen, more loyal and true,
Nobler and better, brought to new faith –
So men shall know grace, honor, glory,
Fortune, and the kind clasp of friends.
Say who I am – glorious, useful to men,
Holy and helpful from beginning to end.

Old English Riddle 26, usually solved as Bible or Gospelbook;
the Exeter Book, MS Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, f. 107r-v.[4]

[4] Text from *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P. KRAPP and E. VAN KIRK DOBBIE (New York, 1936), pp. 193-194; translation from *A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Songs*, trans. C. WILLIAMSON (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 84 (where it is numbered riddle 24).

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Introduction: The Philology of Smell

JONATHAN WILCOX

Medieval manuscripts are a powerful way of touching the past – in Dinshaw's evocative phrase for the affinity with which modern people can engage medieval subjects.[1] Pictures in manuscripts draw viewers into an imaginative world of an earlier age and the same is often true of simply viewing a page of text. Handwriting, craft, and decoration exert a fascination even for those who cannot read the script or understand the language. Thus, exhibitions of sacred manuscripts from the three great religions of the book or of manuscripts associated with royalty brought huge crowds to the British Library, where exhibition-goers who mostly could not read the language of the texts they were examining were absorbed by the books on display.[2] Central to the first exhibition was a manuscript that has long appealed to viewers, the Lindisfarne Gospels (MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv), which is permanently on display as one of the "Treasures of the British Library" and has drawn many a viewer into greater interest in early medieval devotion and monastic culture.[3] Scholarship can help deepen such appreciation. In this case,

[1] See C. DINSHAW, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, 1999). Dinshaw deploys the phrase working within a tradition of queer theory, but the concept has a broad-ranging resonance for our engagement with the objects of our study.

[2] The exhibitions are catalogued in *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam*, ed. J. REEVE (London, 2007) and S. MCKENDRICK, J. LOWDEN, and K. DOYLE, *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London, 2011). Reviews of both exhibitions remarked on the size of the crowds who attended. The later exhibition was also popularised through a BBC television series.

[3] The Lindisfarne Gospels are widely reproduced, including in the British Library Turning

Michelle Brown's study of the Lindisfarne Gospels reveals how a scholar's exploration of a single book's formation with insight and empathy can be a contemporary labour of love that echoes the labour of love enacted by Eadfrith (bishop of Lindisfarne 698-721) when crafting and creating the book over a span of years as part of his work in the rich contemplative environment of the Lindisfarne monastery.[4] The present collection of essays enacts such scholarly labours of love by attending to medieval book production as a way of touching the past and understanding aspects of medieval literacy.

This is an exciting time for studying medieval manuscripts. With the digital revolution providing ever greater access to ever higher quality reproductions, manuscripts are becoming available to more than just a handful of scholars who have access to research collections. As well as new opportunities, the new technology has brought plenty of anxiety, of course, with polemics regularly lamenting the impending death of books or the end of reading as we know it.[5] While such jeremiads may be unrealistically pessimistic, they have encouraged renewed attention to the specific properties of books, and medieval manuscripts are a vital early chapter of that story, constituting, as they do, a book form independent of print technologies. If printed books exemplify the industrialised processes of mass production with which they are so strongly connected, medieval manuscripts exemplify a model of craft production enacted by artisans, and this artisanal model may take on new resonance in a post-industrial world. The moment is ripe, then, for new understandings of medieval manuscripts as objects of study and as artifacts of desire, and that is precisely what the contributions gathered in this volume provide.

Study of manuscripts, long an underpinning of most medievalist disciplines, has seen increased attention since the 1980s, theorised in part as the 'new philology'.[6] More recent scholarly trends, including what might be termed

the Pages CDs and now on the British Library website (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts). They are also reproduced remote from the codex form on merchandise such as the Lindisfarne Gospels Desk Address Book, Magnet Set, Silk Scarf, Silk Tie, or Playing Cards; see the British Library online shop, http://shop.bl.uk.

[4] M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (London, 2003). For her more recent and condensed account, see M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (London, 2010).

[5] See, *inter alia*, S. BIRKERTS, *The Gutenberg Elegies: The Fate of Reading in an Electronic Age* (Boston, 1994), and R. DARNTON, *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future* (New York, 2009).

[6] The turn is broadly datable in Anglo-Saxon studies to F.C. ROBINSON's essay, "Old English literature in its most immediate context", in: *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. J.D.

'new materiality', have further encouraged attentiveness to manuscripts as artifacts rather than solely as vehicles of information.[7] Contemporary scholarship on manuscripts is fuelled by the increase in digital availability, but there is at least one unfortunate paradox built into digital dissemination of books. The visual access that such reproductions provide is often stunningly good, allowing viewers to see pages in remarkable detail, sometimes revealing the very strokes of the scribe's quill with a precision that is not possible even while looking at the book in the flesh. But some things get lost in digital reproductions. This is not just the aura of the original, although Benjamin's theorising of the effect of reproducing works of art remains useful in thinking through the world of digital copies and the way they change the objects that they proliferate.[8] In addition, digital facsimiles fail to engage senses other than sight, such as the feel of the binding of a book, the heft of the volume, the smell of the parchment, or the sound of the pages.[9] The present collection aims in part to bring back those other senses to an understanding of medieval manuscripts.

How can responsible scholars overcome the disadvantages of digital reproductions and more fully engage with the physicality of the book? How can we better understand and convey the craft that went into the handmaking of books? How can we enter into the world of scriptorium practice that brought us the manuscripts that we study? And how can we use those manuscripts to provide entry into the thought world of their production? This volume has its inception in an attempt to answer those questions. The innovative turn that gives us new insight on such questions comes from engaging with those who make books by hand today, a community of contemporary book artists and book artisans.

Papermaking, calligraphy, letterpress printing, bookbinding, artistic and experimental book construction – what might be broadly termed the book arts

NILES (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 11-29, 157-61. For the New Philology, see the special issue of *Speculum* 65.1 (1990), ed. S. NICHOLS.

[7] B. BROWN, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago, 2003), provides one important example within literary studies, while *The Material Culture of Daily Living in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. M. CLEGG HYER and G.R. OWEN-CROCKER (Exeter, 2011), demonstrates an interdisciplinary interest in material culture in Anglo-Saxon studies.

[8] W. BENJAMIN, "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction", first published as "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit", *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 5.1 (1936), pp. 40-66, frequently translated and reprinted.

[9] See J. DRUCKER, "The virtual codex: From page space to e-space", in: *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies*, ed. R. SIEMENS and S. SCHREIBMAN (Malden, 2007), pp. 216-232, on how digital recreation of turning the pages trivialises the book properties that it ostensibly recreates.

– are flourishing today. Perhaps as a consequence of the turn to the digital, traditional small-scale book creation is attracting new practitioners as never before, fostered through many short courses and workshops and by a few centres for the book arts.[10] One place where training and research in such artisanal book skills comes together is the University of Iowa Center for the Book, which houses specialists in papermaking, calligraphy, printing, and binding. Such specialists in the making of books provide an opportunity for adding a material touch to medieval manuscript studies.

What if a group of scholars with interest in specific medieval manuscripts were to come together with contemporary book artists? And what if they attempted some of the artisanal work that led to the creation of the objects they study? Such was the premise underlying the University of Iowa Obermann Center for Advanced Studies Summer 2008 Research Seminar, 'Medieval Manuscript Studies and Contemporary Book Arts: Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Books'. Eight medievalist scholars in various fields and disciplines, with a cluster centring on Anglo-Saxon England, came together with two visiting book artists and three book specialists from the University of Iowa Center for the Book. With substantial experience studying and writing about Anglo-Saxon manuscripts but no prior experience in the book arts, I served as director. The group assembled on the Oakdale Campus of the University of Iowa for a two-week exercise at combining study of specific issues in medieval manuscripts with the experience of medieval book making.

In the seminar, participants started at, or at least near, the beginning. Jesse Meyer of the parchment-making company Pergamena, whose family has been in the leather-making trade for fifteen generations, took us through the creation of a medieval page from the skin of an animal to parchment.[11] We got to handle and sniff parchments of all kinds that Meyer brought to the seminar as we tried to understand the substratum that librarians usually discourage us from fondling so intimately. Then came a demonstration of the initial stages of parchment creation. Meyer pulled a skin out of a bucket of quick-lime, threw it over a curvy barrel, and set to the removal of hair and flesh with a large curving knife blade. The process involved an assault on the senses. There was a smell of blood and sex and death coming from the skin while whitened squidgy stuff

[10] See, further, the essay by ELLIS, *infra*. The creation of the College Book Art Association in 2008 suggests the increasing institutional profile of such study; see http://www.collegebookart.org/.

[11] See MEYER's essay, *infra*, and the website, http://www.pergamena.net.

flew everywhere, yet we looked on captivated, and some brave souls tried their hand at the process. For the half an hour of hair removal and skin smoothing, we all gave rapt attention to details of blemishes – veining, bullet holes, skin tears, fat lines (sheep are especially fatty). The look and feel of the eventual parchment depends as much on preparation as on the starting materials.

Published accounts of parchment making notice an intimacy to these skilful processes. The initial dehairing after removing the skin from its lime bath requires a careful touch, as Christopher De Hamel remarks:

> the parchmenter once again leans over the board with the curved knife and pares away the residue of clinging flesh. If pushed too hard it can cut through the skin by mistake, and this energetic fast scraping requires a surprising delicacy of touch and experience.[12]

Next comes more wet scraping after the skin has been stretched out on the frame, followed by drying, followed by more scraping and shaving. Other accounts stress the craft and technique required: "touching a skin in itself, during preparation, stimulates the senses to a better understanding and valuation of the material", one modern parchment maker observes.[13]

The tactile came fully into play as participants in the seminar received a dehaired and washed skin for further preparation. We stretched our skins on a traditional drying frame, the pegging proving a challenge for some of us neophytes, and then attacked the surface with the traditional small curved blade, a lunellum. The finish on the parchment is heavily dependent on the work of this stage, which proved to involve considerable physical exertion – non-purists in the group switched to the aid of a modern hand sander power tool for assistance. In assessing the finish, the sense of touch reigned supreme as we repeatedly stroked and fondled the surface, trying to get a sense for how it ought to feel, drawn to the contours of a texture that was in part a product of our own

[12] C. DE HAMEL, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992), p. 11. On parchment making, see also the excellent full account in R. REED, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London, 1972), and the account of contemporary practice in N.W. SOBANIA, R.A. SILVERMAN, D. EICHHORST, and H. SEREKE-BRHAN, *The Parchment Makers: An Ancient Art in Present-Day Ethiopia*, 19 min. video, produced by the Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities, in cooperation with Hope College and Michigan State University (Grand Haven, MI, 2000).

[13] B.M. VORST, "Mysterious vellum", in: *Pergament: Geschichte, Struktur, Restaurierung, Herstellung*, ed. P. RÜCK (Sigmaringen, 1991: *Historische Hilfswissenschaften* 2), pp. 365-370, at p. 370.

labour. By the end of the exercise, we had a first sense of pride at our own individual handiwork, along with a respect for the materials involved.

Having started at the beginning, we proceeded through steps that matched the Old English book creation riddle (Exeter Book Riddle 26, included as an epigraph to this volume). Cutting the skin, presumably a regular process for medieval book creators, gave us some anxiety in view of the irreversible nature of the activity. Shortcutting a few subsequent stages, we looked at how pens are cut from feathers and how ink gets made from oak galls, then moved quickly to relearning the process of pen strokes and letter formation under the guidance of Cheryl Jacobsen, a modern scribe. Jacobsen's essay in this volume will give a sense of her teaching technique, which involved slowing us down and making us deeply conscious of each stroke we made. With handcut quill on our own handmade parchment, we started writing, attempting to imitate the work of scribes that many of us have spent countless hours looking at without previously imitating. We started to feel that we were shadowing the creators of the objects of our study.

With something written and imagining more, participants turned to the next stage in making a book and the process of binding. Gary Frost, Conservator at the University of Iowa Libraries and long-time leader in the world of bookbinding, shared with us his collection of binding models. Again, we inquiringly handled structures that usually we treat with distant respect, opening and contorting bindings to see how they re-form, questioning the action, and generally touching rather than just looking. And once again we engaged hands-on skills under Frost's direction, stitching and assembling a binding from a kit. We all vowed to consider Frost's mnemonic of kerf, edge, and crop – helpfully explained in his essay below – when next we face a medieval binding in a research library.

A few days of engagement with parchment, quill, and needle does not a book artist make. Such a brief foray was clearly mere dabbling, but it gave us all a powerful respect for the various hand-skills that are essential to such craft. The philosopher, Richard Sennett, tries to take seriously what is involved in crafts of the hand, and one of his passing observations became something of a mantra for seminar participants, when he observes that some ten thousand hours of practice and apprenticeship are often considered necessary to develop mastery of a skill.[14] With such experience, knowledge of the processes be-

[14] R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008). Ten thousand hours represents six and a quarter years of working forty-hour weeks for forty weeks of the year, roughly the time

comes embedded in the muscles rather than consciously thought through. In contemplating such craft, we came to realise the value of repetition to the point of mindlessness, so that skills become wired into the fingers and joints rather than thought through the brain. We also got an idea of the respect that such craftsfolk feel for their tools, their materials, and for each other's skills. By undertaking our first few hours at these crafts, seminar participants at least got to imagine what such immersion might be like. The essays that follow will suggest that such an understanding of craft is fundamental to understanding medieval manuscripts.

Most of us in the seminar felt that our sense of medieval manuscripts was changed even by this brief experience of craft labour. One recurring refrain went along the lines of "I had no idea ...", no idea how much work, how masterful, how exciting it was, "... until I tried it". What got amplified is precisely what is lacking in digital reproductions. Rather than relating to the eyes alone, the hands proved utterly central to the crafting of books and this accentuates an awareness of the tactile. Books involve a touching of the past in the most literal of senses. But our experience of book creation also appealed to other senses. The materials and stages of book making carry their own odour, and participants came to a newfound appreciation for the smell of the text. Indeed, 'the philology of smell' became a useful shorthand for signalling an appreciation of a broad sensory engagement with manuscripts. The workshop format also gave a sense of the community that book creation must have entailed as both an embodied and a communal enterprise. "I've got to go back" became another refrain of the seminar as we came away wanting to return to the archive in order to look at and handle and sniff the objects of our studies with a newfound appreciation of the process of creation.

In the event of the research seminar, the modern industrial world proved its vulnerability to the forces of nature when the rising floodwaters of the Iowa River forced an early end to our final session as Iowa City became cut off from its airport and the university library called on volunteers to form a human chain passing books from hand to hand to preserve its collection from the flooding that threatened its basement. While the embodied process of book making labour inevitably came to an end for seminar participants, we have projected its insights into the present set of essays. Those insights include acknowledging our own emotional attachments to the objects that we study. Theorising that

involved in getting a Ph.D., suggesting the advanced scholarly degree as a different form of apprenticeship.

engagement may encourage empathy for the contemplative labour of love through which many of these books were created. If the essays in this collection are only a start to our explications, that, too, is in keeping with the fluidity of the objects of our study, which so often saw accretion and development over time.

The following essays represent a start at materially committed, craft conscious scholarship about medieval manuscripts. Each takes on a question specific to the scholar's own field, and yet each exemplifies the importance of an extremely close engagement with material practice for understanding a manuscript. Informed by the experience of the seminar, the collection as a whole offers new insight into a methodology of material manuscript engagement.

The collection begins with particular emphasis on scribes. Matthew T. Hussey makes the case for the ideological and political significance of scribal practice in "Anglo-Saxon Scribal *Habitus* and Frankish Aesthetics in an Early Uncial Manuscript" through a rich and suggestive examination of one special case. Hussey introduces the idea of scribal *habitus* for focusing on the deeply ingrained bodily training and technique of scribes. He turns to one specific and telling case, the scribal performance in copying Isidore's *Synonyma* in the first quire of MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.79, which, he argues, suggests a performance of a Frankish uncial by a scribe habituated to insular half-uncial. Hussey presents the context that makes such a suggestion likely, summarising relations between English and Frankish writing centres. He pinpoints Jouarre and Chelles as likely sources of influence. Hussey's argument suggests how scribal performance may have served as a kind of homage by insular scribes to Frankish monastic organisation. He clinches his case with a particularly fascinating example: a moment when, he suggests, a scribe reverted to form, if just for one word. Extreme attention to scribal performance, Hussey's essay demonstrates, can uncover whole ideological and practical strata of understanding.

Patrick W. Conner continues such extreme attention to scribal practice in "On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands" as he addresses the crucial but complex question of what constitutes a scribal stint. In an important initial foray into a palaeographical conundrum that well exemplifies the power of the approach in this volume, Conner examines the question of matched scribal hands, that is scribes who produce script that is closely similar in appearance, and the paradoxes attendant on this phenomenon. The very fact of the hands being matched makes them hard to differentiate, which means that a palaeogra-

pher needs to be highly attentive to often minute differences to establish different scribal stints. Conner enacts such analysis in the minimal case of a single-sheet writ, the eleventh-century Guild Statutes for the Abbotsbury Parish Guild (Dorchester, Dorset History Centre, Anglo-Saxon charter 4), which he shows to contain matched hands of two scribes working together, perhaps at Abbotsbury Abbey. Conner goes on to survey the far more complex case of a complete high status Gospel book that has been well studied by generations of scholars, namely the Book of Kells. Here he demonstrates how such analysis needs to proceed alongside codicological considerations. Palaeographers also need to be cognisant of the way that a monastic scriptorium worked, he suggests. Drawing on the idea of scribal *habitus* established in Hussey's essay, as well as communities of practice and interaction ritual chains, Conner sketches out a sociology of the monastic scriptorium. The urge for scribes to submerge their individual identity for the glory of a community-wide celebration of God is not surprising within the ideology of the Benedictine monastery, as Conner deftly demonstrates. Indeed, the performance of the scribes assembling their work in quires parallels the performance of the monks chanting in the choir, all for the greater glory of God.

While the practicalities and mentalities of medieval monastic life are at the centre of Conner's deep historicising, he advances understanding of the question by considering the case of contemporary scribes who can publish and talk about their work. The Saint John's Bible, a handwritten illustrated Bible being produced by scribes for the community of Saint Benedict at Collegeville, Minnesota, provides a contemporary control for understanding how a group of scribes work together, which Conner duly takes full advantage of. In addition, working with the calligrapher, Cheryl Jacobsen, gives Conner access to the thinking of a contemporary scribe. In an essay with important implications for many medieval manuscripts, including the Exeter Book of Old English poetry, Conner advances both the theory and practice of understanding matched scribal hands. Conner's work demonstrates the value of being attentive to both medieval and contemporary book-making practice.

Cheryl Jacobsen's contribution complements those of Hussey and Conner with a contemporary scribe joining the two historical scholars in imagining the world and practice of the medieval scribe. "A Modern Scribe Views Scribes of the Past" provides the perspective of a contemporary book maker on medieval practice. Jacobsen makes her living through a combination of scribal commissions and teaching at the University of Iowa Center for the Book and thus faces

many of the workaday pressures and constraints that must have been a reality for many medieval scribes. In addition to biographical reflection, Jacobsen also describes her approach to a specific palaeographical conundrum in relation to the insular minuscule of the tenth-century Exeter Book. As part of his investigation of matched scribal hands, Conner asked Jacobsen to attempt to reproduce a page of script of the Exeter Book in the course of which she is struck by the often unmotivated inconsistencies of the Exeter Book's script. Jacobsen uncovers how the aesthetic expectations of medieval scribes may be very different from our own, putting no premium on a consistent or tidy look.

From the scribe, the essays in this collection turn next to the materials which supported such writing, namely parchment and paper. The experience of making parchment during the research seminar was a revelation for most participants, teaching us the intimacy with a dead creature that the process entails. Jesse Meyer of Pergamena, the group's guide in parchment making, begins this section with a brief account of the process as seen by a practitioner of the field.

Engagement with parchment continues in the contribution by Jennifer Borland, "Unruly Reading: The Consuming Role of Touch in the Experiences of a Medieval Manuscript", where she takes up the issue of touch in a thoroughly nuanced way. Borland argues that gouges made in the parchment of MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, to the illuminations in a *Passion of Saint Margaret* by one or more defacing reader allow us to touch the past in some meaningful way. Launching from this act of obliteration, Borland theorises the position of the modern scholar-observer as well as positing likely motives for the medieval defacer. She shows how our desires can be engaged through such tangible materiality as the defacement of the evil Olibrius in these pictures, just as a medieval user was provoked to act by her or his engagement with the images. Images and the desire to suppress them gain added force from a deeper knowledge of parchment and its creation.

Timothy Barrett's contribution turns the discussion from parchment to the other substratum of the Middle Ages, namely paper, providing fresh light on how the two are connected. Barrett provides a brief survey of the paper production process in order to situate an exciting research project that aims to understand the durability of medieval paper by using non-destructive research techniques. He argues that a strong influence on early paper production was the desire to replicate the appearance of the material that was getting replaced, namely parchment. Thus, the aesthetic of the old form influenced the technology of what replaced it.

The collection moves from the substrata to the structure of the book codex, starting with Gary Frost addressing the big picture of the significance of materiality in "Medieval Bookbinding". Frost provocatively engages the question of what makes the codex book form so ubiquitous, pointing to its intimate interrelation with the spread of Christianity. He then provides a fascinating account of the mechanics of medieval bookbindings, addressing the question of why they have been so enduring. This leads him to important questions about the future of the book and the risks of a new digital dark ages following any overreliance on digital technologies. Frost's informed polemic shows why materiality matters at many levels.

Elsi Vassdal Ellis provides a broad overview of the survival and loss of medieval bindings in "The East-West, Then-Now Binding Nexus". She considers changing preservation priorities and the experience of conservators. Strong interest in preserving medieval bindings, she suggests, dates from the conservation efforts following the Florence flood of 1966. Ellis shows how medieval book structures came to have an influence on artists' books in the latter half of the twentieth century and describes the explosive growth in the book arts. She charts the institutional structures within which the efflorescence of book arts has taken place, sketching out lineages of practitioners in which the University of Iowa Center for the Book plays a noble role. One subspeciality within this world has involved the teaching of medieval bindings, a tradition which Ellis describes, concluding with particular reference to the earliest surviving English binding, the book containing the Gospel of John recovered from St. Cuthbert's coffin (MS London, British Library, Loan 74, the St. Cuthbert Gospel, formerly known as the Stonyhurst Gospel). Ellis thereby gives a sense of the vitality of contemporary book arts' interest in medieval books with its potential for informing and being informed by medieval scholarship.

Constance H. Berman demonstrates the importance of attentiveness to structure in a key case study in "The Cistercian Manuscript, Trent 1711, Version One and Its Exemplar". Berman unpacks the structure of MS Trento, Bibliotheca comunale, 1711, an important early Cistercian customary, and in the process shows just how much is at stake in such codicological details. In particular, she suggests a new understanding of the way the manuscript was put together over time, including the discovery that the closing quire, the opening quire, and the outer bifolium of the second quire (once the opening quire of the earlier manuscript) are later additions to a manuscript that was accreted and improved over time. This small codicological observation, backed up by

palaeographical and content analysis, has large implications since it takes away evidence used to anchor the dating of the Cistercian Order bursting forth onto the scene fully formed in the 1130s and instead makes more probable a foundation process through increments and experiments, rather like the accumulation of this manuscript.

Two closing studies deal with two complete medieval books. Karen Louise Jolly ponders in detail the construction of the Durham Ritual or Durham Collectar in "Dismembering and Reconstructing MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19". She comes to see the object of her study as a book in action – both in the long-continuing act of creation and also in the dynamic utility of a collection of texts which, she argues, were used in an unbound state that allowed for mobility and variability, circulated as booklets or even independent folios gathered around a loose-bound nexus. Like Conner and Hussey, Jolly stresses the way in which the craftsmanship of the scriptorium both shaped and replicated "a textual base for rituals requiring a conjunction of heart, mind, and soul", in this case in the tenth-century non-monastic community of Chester-le-Street. Jolly looks at the community of six scribes, led by Aldred, who worked there at the same time in the late tenth century, augmenting a book originally written in the early tenth century. She uncovers interactions among the scribes that allow her to go some way in understanding the processes by which communities practised their religion on an everyday level. The community of scribes, she shows, express themselves in and through the manuscript page, making a collection that reflects a certain vibrancy, even if constrained by inadequacy of resources. Jolly also reflects on her own scholarly attachment to the community's production in an essay that demonstrates the value of taking a materialist approach and drawing on the contemporary community of scholars and book-makers, which, as she playfully demonstrates, both provides her with a method and with an analogy for the community of makers that she studies.

The *habitus* of a religious community centred around book creation is at the centre of many of the essays in this volume. In the final essay, "'*Lymned to his awne vse*': The Illuminated Realm of John Lacy, Book Artisan and Anchorite, in MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94", Martha Rust investigates the limit case for such a community as she uncovers the fascinating if prescribed world of a single identifiable book artist. John Lacy was an anchorite in fifteenth-century Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and so his physical world and embodied community was limited in the extreme, even if the spiritual world, open

to him through books, was limitless. Rust contemplates the book Lacy created in his anchorhold in the early fifteenth century and shows how the creation of the book and its contemplation is an act of devotion in harmony with an anchorite's life. Lacy made his own choice of texts and gave the book his own stamp, including both an author portrait and a passage of personal address written in gold leaf. Rust shows how the book constitutes Lacy's own use in multiple senses of that term – a devotional room of his own – while she embeds the book's production in the ecological networks of fifteenth-century northern England and beyond, in the process giving a sense of how the material matters for grasping the lustre and meaning of the book as object. In a study that richly plays with paradox, Rust situates Lacy's book in the biodiversity of the surrounding community even as its creator voluntarily gave up access to that external world for an inner world that the book also emblematises. Even a modern mutilation adds a layer of meaning as it opens a literal window into the book. Rust reads Lacy's note of donation as an epitaph, with important implications for voice. She also notes how reading is modelled within the book. In total, she reads the book as an imaginative world that a reader is invited to enter, as seen in an exemplum included by Lacy and here edited for the first time. Visual aspects of the book contribute to the effect at every stage, and Rust poignantly interprets the faces that Lacy draws into some capital letters as readers gazing in at Lacy in his anchorhold. Through this hugely well-informed and elegant study, Rust exemplifies again the world that can be uncovered by intelligently contemplating a single book.

The collection as a whole enacts the value of crossing scholarly and artisanal boundaries, of engaging manuscripts with a full sense of their materiality, including a sensitivity toward the tactile, the aural, and the olfactory. Such study also works to recuperate the individual and collective craftsfolk who lie behind the artifacts, understanding the implications of production on a pre-industrial human scale. Even if many of the books that survive and attract our attention are high status works, often associated with secular or clerical elites, the emphasis here on culture as transmitted by the craftsfolk who created books allows a kind of bottom-up study of history. A sense of the book's engagement with all the senses allows us to carry materiality and embodiment back to reading in the archive. By taking seriously the material processes of creation, we get to touch the past anew.

Anglo-Saxon Scribal *Habitus* and Frankish Aesthetics in an Early Uncial Manuscript

MATTHEW T. HUSSEY

The oft-attested and oft-cited medieval colophon, "*Tres digiti scribunt et totum corpus laborat*" ("Three fingers write and the entire body works") does much more than capture the rueful humour in the grumblings of a tired scribe. This pithy claim explicitly relates the physical labour of writing to the disposition and condition of the whole body. Such a claim locates medieval scribal craft as a specific form of *habitus*, as Marcel Mauss might name it: a technique of the body.[1] Mauss describes how the use of the body – walking, swimming, et cetera – is conditioned by ideology, education, and culture in specific social scenes; in effect, how one sits or how one dances is a sub-discursive product of one's historical moment. Scribal work – how one writes – is a technique of the body as well, albeit one that was highly refined by intensive training, as one might intensively train in a sport, on a musical instrument, or most pertinently, in a craft. Recently, Richard Sennett has valorised the philosophy and epistemology of various crafts, tracing the development of physical and material training and practice into forms of both tacit and explicit knowledge.[2] He outlines the way that the body becomes adept in a craft to the point of responding to particular material conditions and situations almost unconsciously in order to create a product in accordance with the craftsman's intentions. In the case of our many scribes who have left the pained but clever colophon, the hours of training in a specific bodily technique are left extant in the material trace, the manuscript. As such, the manuscript – any manuscript –

[1] M. MAUSS, "Techniques of the body", *Economy and Society* 2 (1973), pp. 70-88.
[2] R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (London and New Haven, 2008).

is a legible attestation of a historical moment, where Mauss's 'biological', 'sociological', and 'psychological' intersect.[3]

Craft – notably in Sennett's formulation – implies the intention and the physical skill and materials to produce something very fine and well made. Indeed, the history of medieval manuscripts is – unsurprisingly – dominated by glorious and beautiful masterworks: from early Anglo-Saxon England, one might first think of the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Codex Aureus, or the Vespasian Psalter; another, with more specialised predilections, might think of the Codex Amiatinus or the Hatton *Rule*. These manuscripts by and large present a harmony between their makers' intentions and their aesthetic fulfilment, even though their actual making may have been challenging and difficult. Nevertheless, small, rough, scruffy, and 'imperfect' manuscripts are just as revealing of Anglo-Saxon manuscript culture. The first quire of MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.79 is one of these books: the parchment and arrangements are irregular; the script is inexpert and uneven; the writing is riddled with mistakes and erasures. This appears to be the result of a scribe struggling against not just his materials and exemplar or model, but against his own *habitus*, his own deeply ingrained bodily training and technique. While a manuscript may present us with important wide-ranging literary and historical insights, the material trace of painstaking struggle seen in a manuscript like Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 may also reveal remarkably focused, local, and individuated histories of human work and effort. And such human effort in turn can be used to reflect on small-scale ideological commitments; the handmade artifact is an expression of individual intentions as well as public, and thus cultural, social, and political objectives. In this case, the manuscript's problematic performance signals a swerve from the scribe's *habitus*, the sub-discursive cultural objectives embodied through his or her training, in order to express a different ideological objective, crabbed and cognisant.

MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.79 is a fragmentary copy of Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*.[4] Based on its fabric, scripts, and its scattered dry-point Old English glosses, E.A. Lowe dated the book generally to the eighth century and localised its origin to Southumbria.[5] Bernhard Bischoff

[3] MAUSS, "Techniques", p. 73.

[4] Catalogued in H. THURN, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, 1- (Wiesbaden, 1970-), III.1, p. 66.

[5] E.A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols. and *Supplement*, with 2nd edn. of vol. 1 (Oxford, 1934-1971) (henceforth *CLA*), IX, No. 1426 and E.A. LOWE, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), p. 22, No. 23.

narrowed the dating range to the first half of that century based on the character of the uncial script.[6] More recently, Patrick Sims-Williams, drawing on Julian Brown's unpublished Lyell Lectures, has argued for an origin in the first quarter of the eighth century and probably in a scriptorium in the Worcester orbit.[7] By the late eighth or early ninth century, the manuscript had migrated to the Rhine-Main region in Germany and likely came to the Bonifacian foundation at Würzburg by around 800.[8] Boniface wrote quite a few letters requesting books from nuns and monks, and this may be one such volume that came from England to Germany for that purpose;[9] however what is at issue here is the book's origins and early use in England.

The physical structure of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 is telling; the manuscript consists of 28 leaves in three quires. The first is a quire of eight on Insularly prepared vellum, pricked and ruled after folding for twenty-one long lines of text per page; in Quire 1, each line of writing is a 3 to 4 mm. band, with an approximately 9 mm. gap between each line. This first quire is arranged hair-sides out with hair facing flesh within the quire. The leaves have slits in both margins and are ruled in dry-point. Up to the middle of f. 8v, the script is mostly an unusual uncial, after which the book is written in several Insular minuscule scripts, mainly a minuscule with some half-uncial elements. The remaining two quires consist of ten leaves on a different quality of Insular vellum, which is more yellow and more supple (though ff. 23-24 are thicker and greas-

[6] B. BISCHOFF, "Anzeige von E.A. Lowe, English Uncial (Oxford 1960)", *Gnomon* 34 (1962), pp. 605-615, rpt. in: B. BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966-1981) (henceforth *MS*), 2, pp. 328-339, at p. 333; and see also his "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla", in: *Isidoriana: Collecíon de Estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (Léon, 1961), pp. 317-344; rpt. in: *MS* 1, pp. 171-194, at p. 183.

[7] P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990: *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 3), pp. 202-203: "first quarter of the century". For an origin, see ID., "An unpublished seventh- or eighth-century Anglo-Latin letter in Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 74 (82)", *Medium Ævum* 48 (1979), pp. 1-22, at p. 9, where he ascribes Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 to the Worcester diocese.

[8] THURN, *Handschriften*, III.1, p. 66: "*in deutsch insularer Minuskel eines nachbonifatianischen Scriptoriums*". For the glosses see J. HOFMANN, "Altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen aus Würzburg und dem weiteren angelsächsischen Missionsgebiet", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 85 (1963), pp. 27-131, at p. 58; HOFMANN, "Altenglische und althochdeutschen Glossen", p. 59, suggests the transit from England to Germany in the last quarter of the eighth century via Mainz.

[9] On the Bonifacian context for *Synonyma* manuscripts in Germany, see M.T. HUSSEY, "*Transmarinis litteris*: Southumbria and the transmission of Isidore's *Synonyma*", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2008), pp. 141-168.

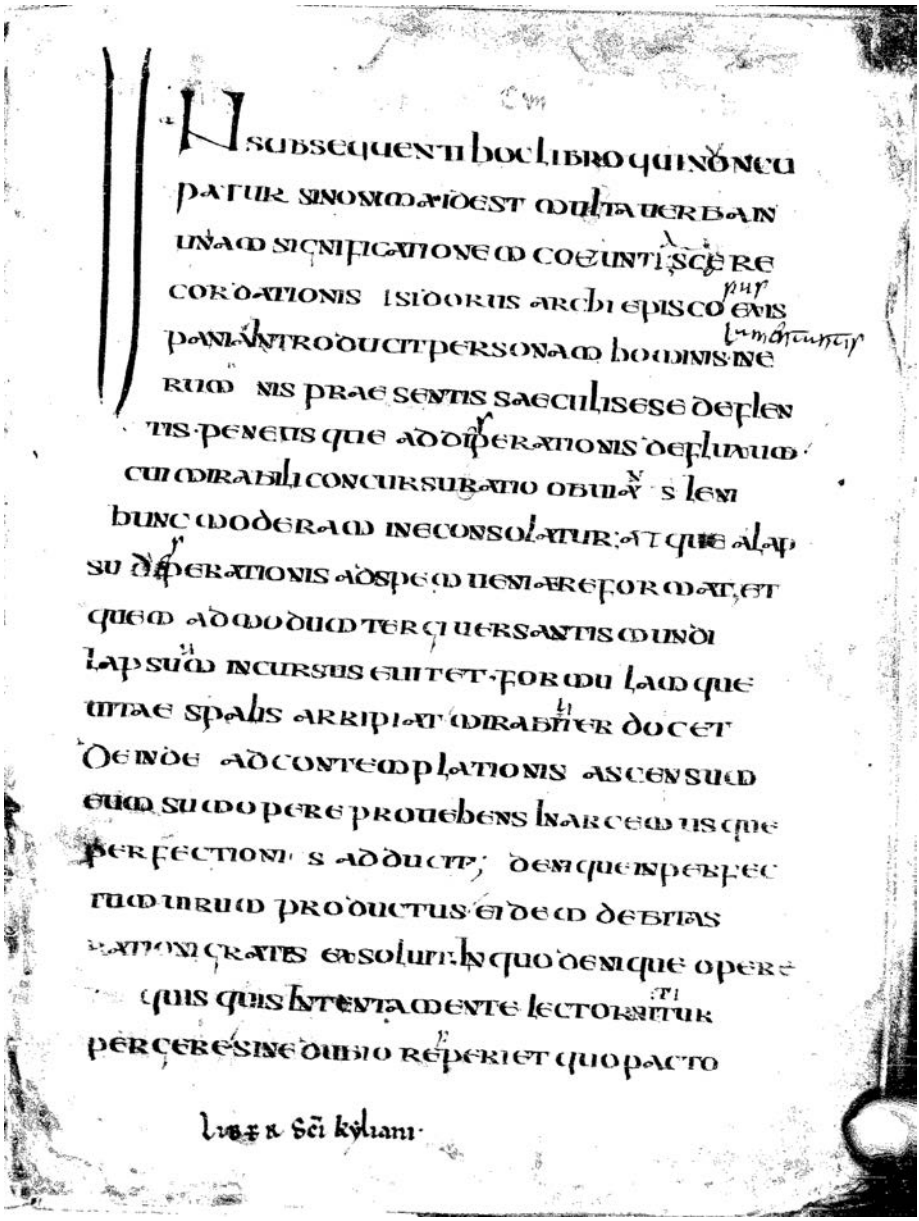


Fig. 1: MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.79, fol. 1r. Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

ier). The leaves are ruled for 27 lines per page in Quire 2, and 24 or 25 lines per page in Quire 3; both have been ruled after folding, with slits in both margins, and in these quires, the ruling is a simple single line guiding the script. Both Quires 2 and 3 are arranged irregularly with the fourth sheet of Quire 2 flesh-side out and all others in the quire hair-side out; in Quire 3 the first two sheets are flesh-side out and the remaining three hair-side out. All three quires are single-bounded and there are no visible quire signatures. Though Lowe notes that there is an "appalling lack of uniformity" in Insular manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, there is a tendency in early Insular manuscript construction towards quires of ten arranged hair-side out.[10] The use of quinions is apparent in Quires 2 and 3 here, though the construction of these gatherings is irregular, being mainly hair-side out with some sheets flesh-side out. These quires conform generally with what appears to be loose Insular practice of the period. However, with its unusual uncial script, its different ruling patterns, and its construction in a gathering of eight, the first quire of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 may represent a tentative foray into non-Insular book-making practices. In particular, contemporary Continental books were made in quires of eight, and while general Continental practice was to arrange hair facing hair and flesh facing flesh inside the quire, early Frankish books often had hair-sides out and hair facing flesh within. The move to an Insular minuscule at the end of the first quire and in the remaining two others coincides with a move to more typical eighth-century Insular practice in construction: the gathering of ten. Thus, the structure of Quire 1 in contrast with the structures of Quires 2 and 3 suggests an experiment of sorts in book making, and one that may have drawn on Continental models.

In light of the dominant types of uncial in eighth-century English manuscripts, the uncial script on the first eight folios of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 is very curious; the script has a boxy, squat appearance with thick downstrokes, and long hairline serifs that emphasise the square look (see fig. 1). There are numerous letter forms and several tendencies in the script that stand out in the context of English uncial of the eighth century; compared to the Romanising English uncial scripts of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 is somewhat odd. If one accepts Sims-Williams' attribution of the book to the Worcester diocese in the first quarter of the eighth century, it is tempting to consider this unusual script the product of a backward or wayward

[10] LOWE, *CLA* II, pp. X-XI.

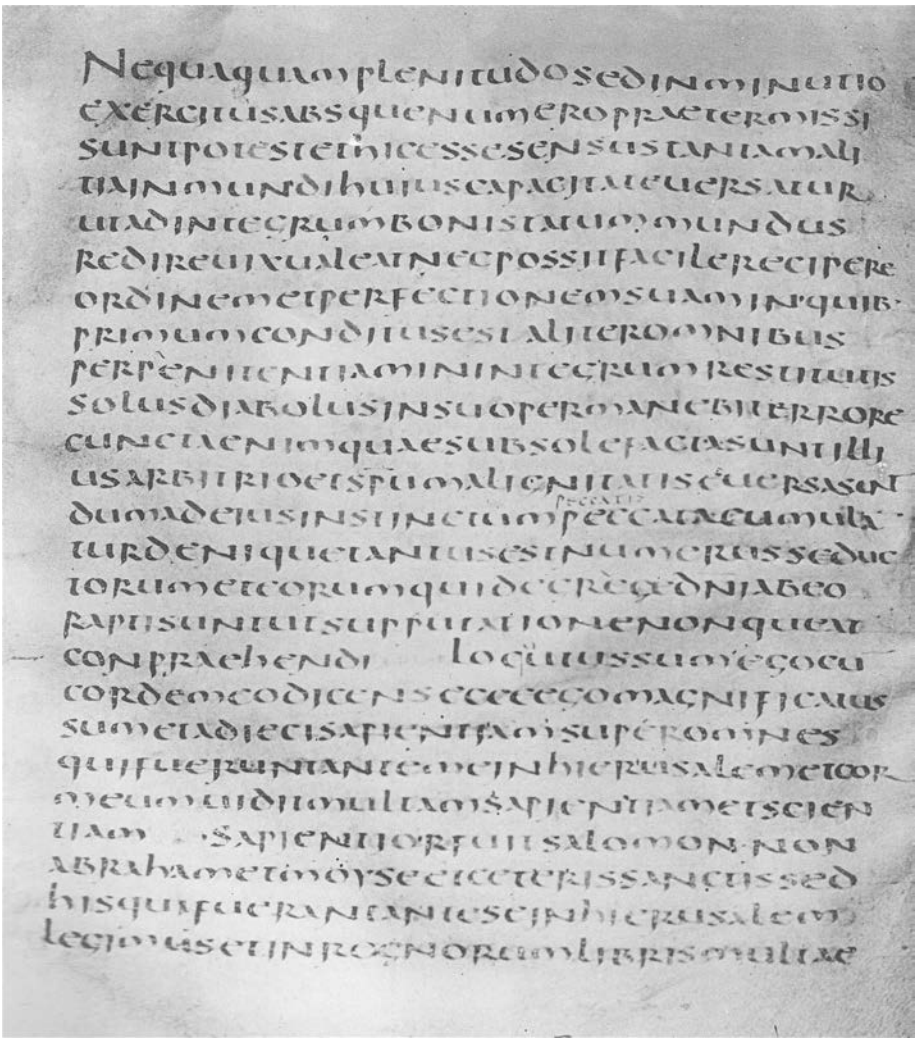


Fig. 2a: MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.2, f. 12v. Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

scriptorium, too far from Northumbrian or Kentish centres where Roman uncial was practised with clarity, elegance, and sophistication. However, at least some scribes in the Worcester region had access to Italian uncial models in the eighth century. One Italian uncial manuscript, now MS Würzburg, Universitäts-

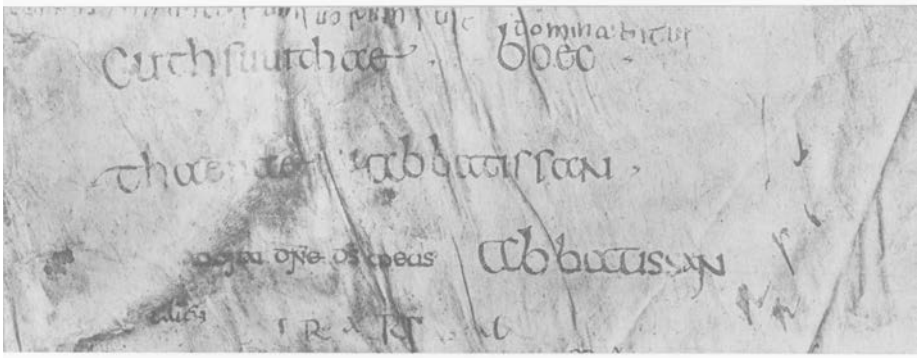


Fig. 2b: MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.2, f. 1r (detail). Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

bibliothek, M.p.th.q.2, a fifth-century Italian copy of Jerome's commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, was probably in the Worcester area around the year 700, when Cuthswith was abbess of Inkberrow; indeed, she may have written her name in it (see figs. 2a and 2b). This light and graceful script is one of the earliest models of uncial known to be available in England.[11] Furthermore, there are supply leaves in the manuscript likely written in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium, and the scribe imitated the fifth-century uncial script competently (see fig. 3). The scribe of these supply leaves was able to achieve the relatively light weight and simplicity of the uncial without notable serifs, wedges, or hairlines. The direct influence of an Italian uncial book suggests scribes in the region could take up this dominant form of the script and write it with some skill.

Other English uncial scripts provide interesting *comparanda* with some similarities suggesting Kentish and Northumbrian connections, and yet these hands are far more deft, clean, and well-designed. Generally, Northumbrian books – many of them seriously Roman – were known to have come into the Worcester orbit, and in fact, it is thought that a Ceolfrith pandect – a sister to the Codex Amiatinus – was in Worcester in the eighth century and a few leaves survive.[12] Despite its relative oddity, Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 has some parallels

[11] LOWE, *English Uncial*, No. 1. On this manuscript and its owner, see P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, "Cuthswith, seventh-century abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester, and the Würzburg Manuscript of Jerome on *Ecclesiastes*", *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), pp. 1-21.

[12] See N. KER, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in their Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. WATSON (London, 1985), pp. 113-120; C.H. TURNER, *Early Worcester Manuscripts: Fragments of Four Books and a Charter of the Eighth Century Belonging to Worcester Cathedral* (Oxford,

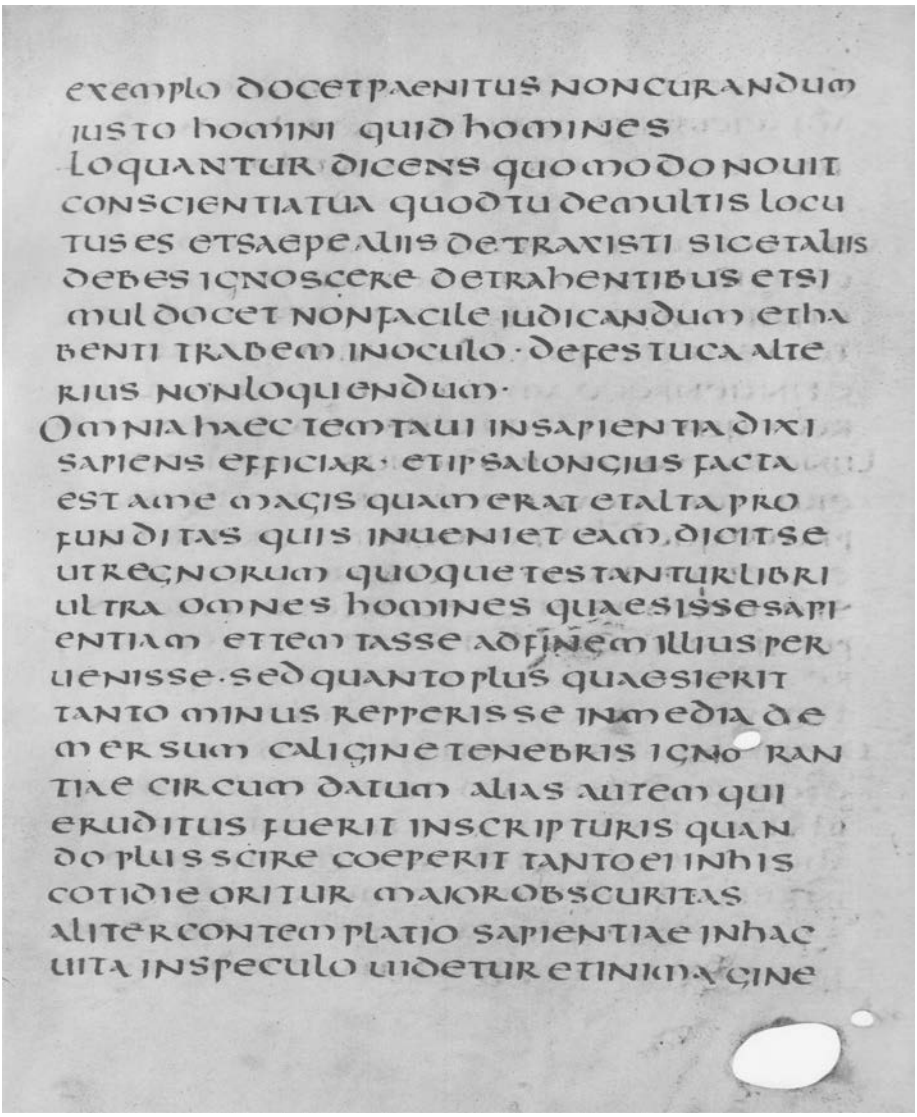


Fig. 3: MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.2, f. 63r. Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

1916), pp. XLI-XLII; SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 182-183; M. BROWN, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London, 1996), pp. 165-167; R. GAMESON, "Book production and decoration at Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries", in: *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. BROOKS and C. CUBITT (London, 1996), pp. 194-243, at p. 230.

with a few other uncial scripts, found in manuscripts from Northumbria, Kent, and the southwest Midlands. MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16, ff. 1-23, 34-86, 102 + MS Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981 (18) has several traits in common with the Würzburg uncial, notably the flat-chambered **B**, the straight-tailed **G** and the clear wedging at the terminals of letters such as **E**, **N**, **S**, and **T**. However the scribe's ductus is finer and thus the script has a lighter weight, with more open space in the letters. What's more, the scribe is relatively restrained in the use of hairlines and forked finials making for a clearer and more open script with a less blocky aspect.[13] In the Kentish Charter of Hlothere, from 679, MS London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii.2, that heavier weight is apparent; the script has thick ductus and similarly wedged terminals, with a few comparable letter forms (like the **E**, and the **L** with hooked foot below the line).[14] Yet the hand does not add nearly as many hairlines and the letters' greater width makes for a more open, if monumental, effect. Durham A.II.16 and Cotton Augustus ii.2 both represent variations of Roman uncial, and they remain comfortable, fluent, and lucid. Yet, while Roman-based and more especially later Northumbrian, scripts may have influenced the uncial hand of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79, these uncial scripts do not explain or seem to lie behind many of its unusual features. A closer comparison might be found in a fragment of Paterius' excerpts from Gregory on the Old and New Testaments found in the eighth-century fragment, MS Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 4.[15] The fragment has a similar weight and aspect, and shares some features, noticeable especially in the **h** and **l**, but is most like Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 in their shared 'rough' and 'awkward' character.[16]

The distinct character of this script led both E.A. Lowe and, later, Rosamond McKitterick to note – without further comment – that the uncial in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 appears to have been based on a Frankish script. Lowe stated that it was "derived apparently from French models",[17] while McKitterick was a bit more specific, claiming that the hand was "manifestly influenced" by "north Frankish letter forms".[18] As to the Frankish type of script

[13] LOWE, *English Uncial*, No. 17.

[14] LOWE, *English Uncial*, No. 21.

[15] LOWE, *CLA* II, No. 265; LOWE, *English Uncial*, No. 36.

[16] LOWE, *CLA* II, No. 265. The Worcester fragment may also reflect some Frankish influences, like Würzburg M.p.th.f.79.

[17] LOWE, *CLA* IX, No. 1426.

[18] R. MCKITTERICK, "The diffusion of Insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850",

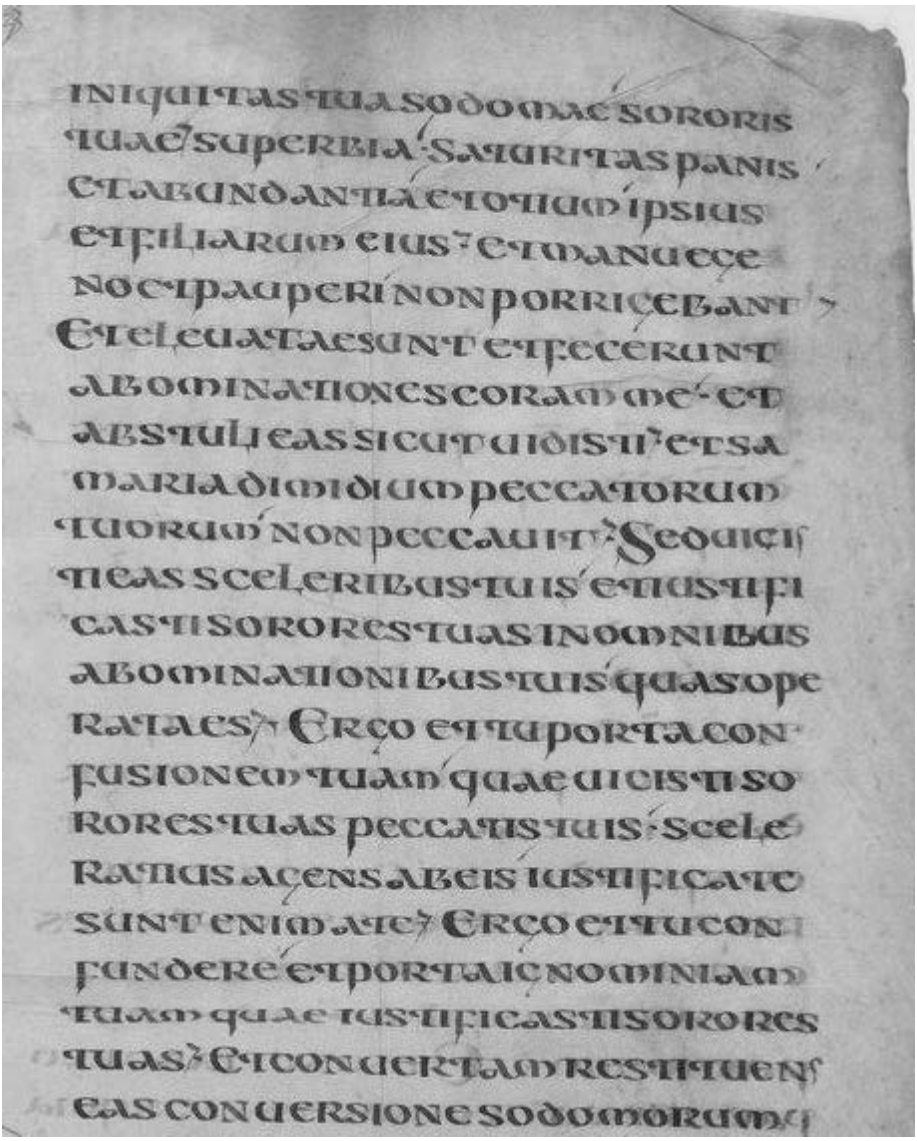


Fig. 4: MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 152, f. 2r, top half of the second column. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

in: *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. H. ATSMA, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1989: *Beihefte der Francia* 16), 2, pp. 395-432, at p. 415.

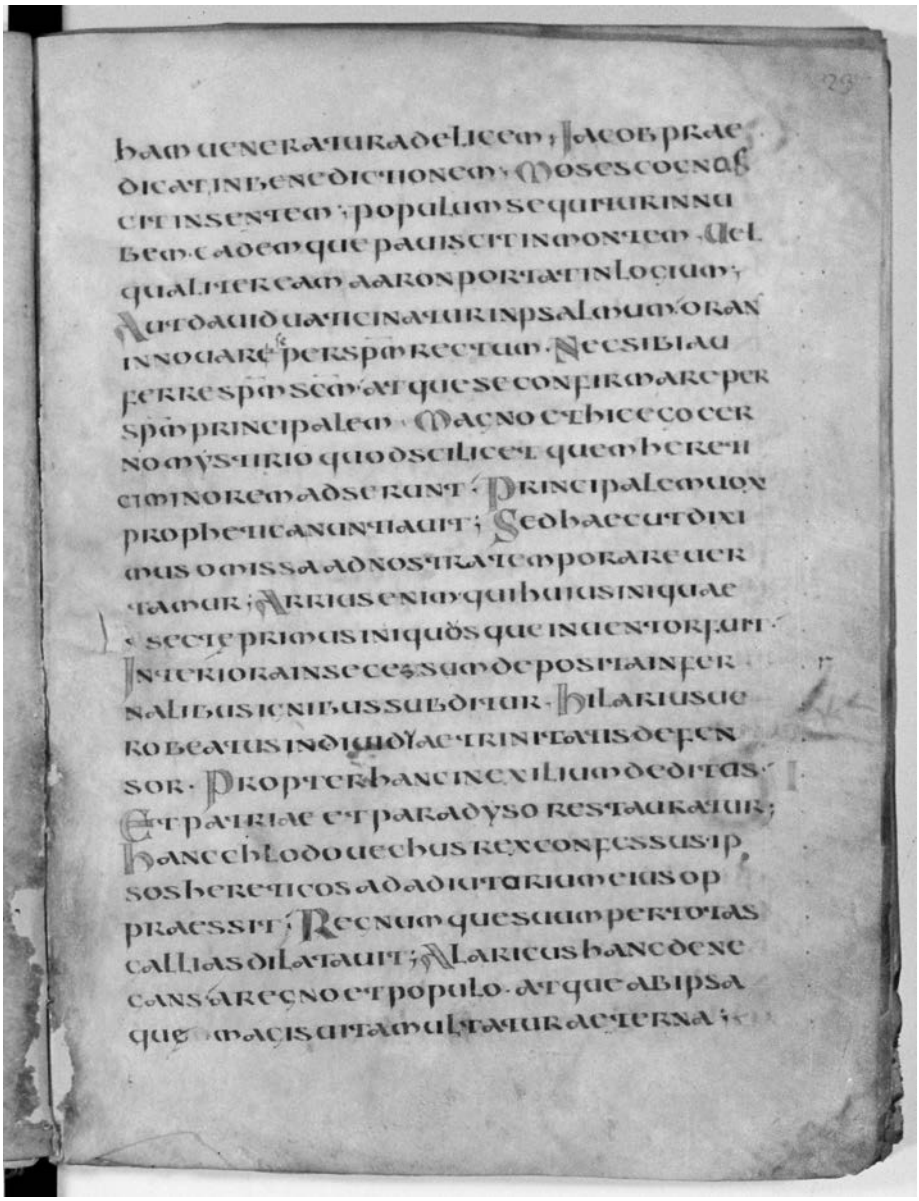


Fig. 5: MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 17654, f. 23r. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

which lies behind the Würzburg M.p.th.f.79's uncial, neither Lowe nor McKitterick suggests what these models might be, but two (of a group of) northeast Frankish books – MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 152, ff. 1-8,[19] and MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.17654[20] – compare in some letter forms, thickness of strokes, and general aspect (see figs. 4 and 5). Paris lat. 152 is a single complete quire of eight, arranged hair outside, containing a fragment of Ezekiel; according to Lowe it was written in the late seventh or early eighth century and McKitterick suggests the early eighth century.[21] Lowe and McKitterick acknowledge the close relationship between Paris lat. 152 and Paris lat. 17654, a copy of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, also constructed in gatherings of eight, hair outside, and likewise dated to the early eighth century. This physical profile – quires of eight, hair outside all leaves – is typical of early Frankish practice in some areas and is matched by the first quire of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79.

Moreover, the heavy ductus and blocky aspect of these two manuscripts are reminiscent of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79's two-line script. All three uncial scripts share a ratio of nib-width to height of about 1:3 and the widths of letters are similar in ratio as well, ranging from the shoulder of the **R**s (about four times as wide as the nib of the pen) to the wide **M** (almost seven times the width of a nib). Coupled with the relatively short height of two-line letters in this script, the effect is dense and quite heavy in weight. In Paris lat. 17654 and in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79, the spaces between lines of writing are greater than the heights of each line of script, resulting in what looks like belts of writing across the grid, which highlights the dense aspect and weight of this uncial script. For Würzburg M.p.th.f.79, it is clear that concerted efforts were made in ruling and layout, as well as in the thick ductus, to achieve this effect.

The manuscripts also share in a number of parallel letter forms: the **a** made with a thick diagonal and a protruding loop or small oval; the **G** in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79, while usually exhibiting a straight tail, has a curved tail similar to the uncial **G** in Paris lat. 17654 (see figures 6 and 7, e.g. ff. 1v l. 8 and 2r l. 1; as well as 7r l. 16); the hairline serifs at the top of ascenders on the **h** and the **l** are similar. The **l** also has the hooked finial dropping below the line on its foot; the **N** with the thick diagonal, and thin uprights, often the first upright intersecting with the diagonal, and the embellishment of the bottom and top of

[19] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 522, s. VII-VIII.
[20] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 670, s. VIII^{in}.
[21] MCKITTERICK, "Diffusion", p. 408.

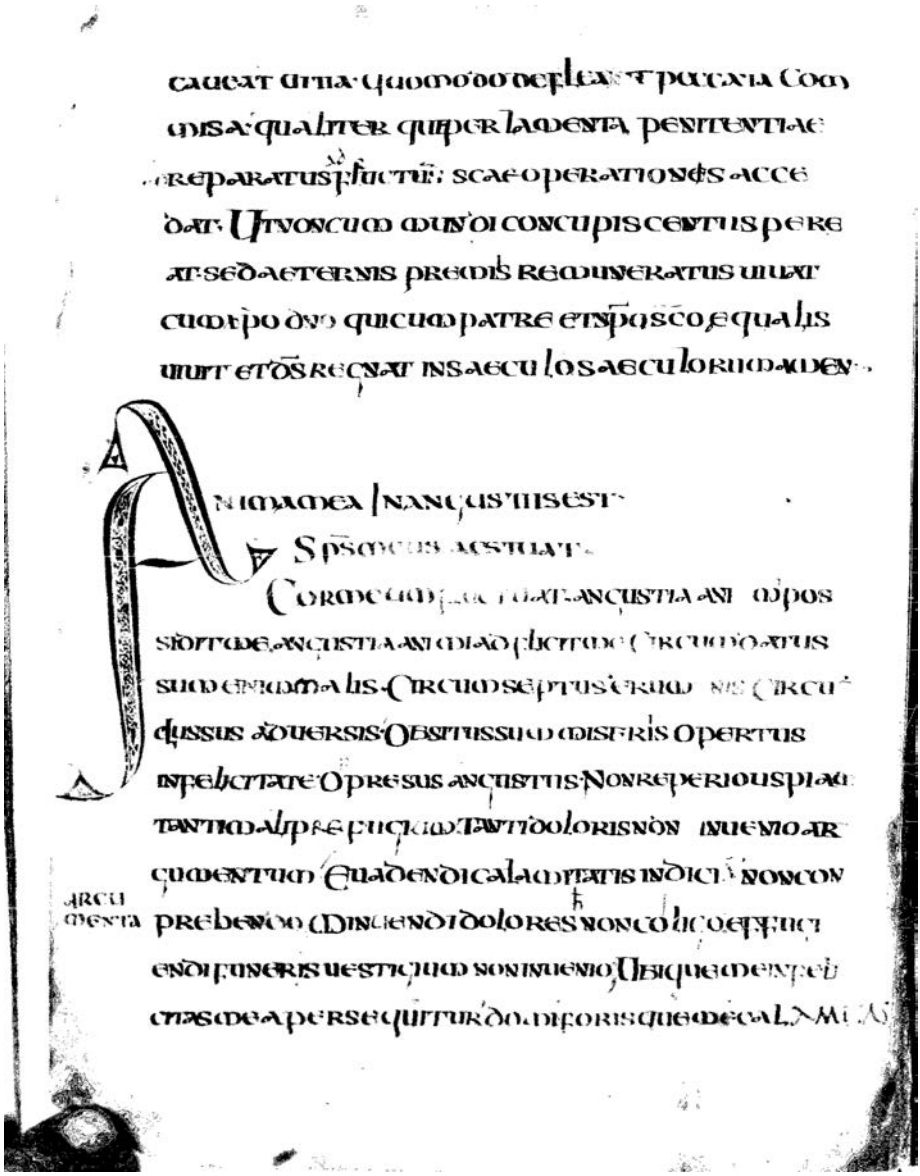


Fig. 6: Würzburg, MS Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.79, f. 1v. Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

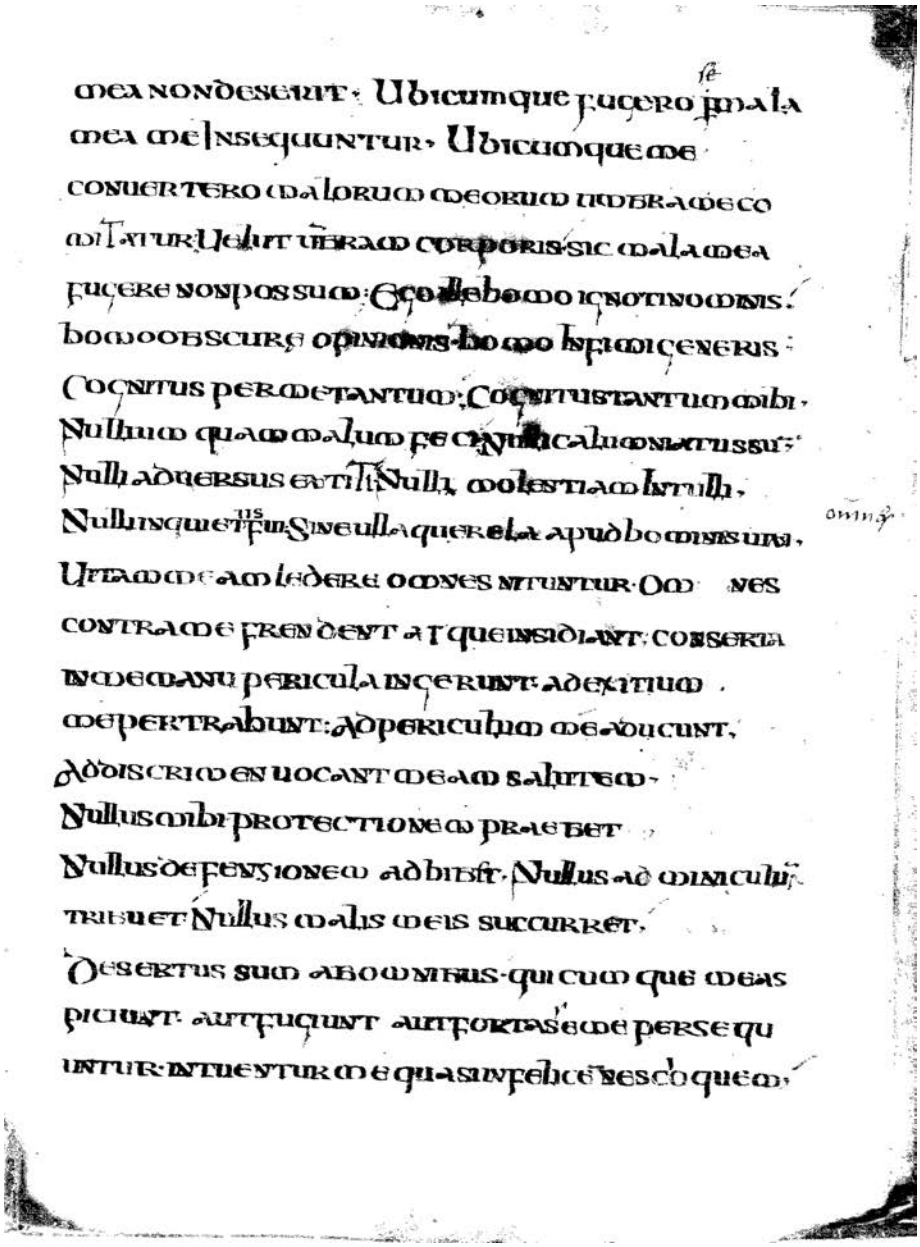


Fig. 7: MS Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.79, f. 2r. Reproduced with permission of Würzburg's Universitätsbibliothek.

the uprights with wedges. The descenders on **f**, **p**, and **q** often have a hairline finish that appears occasionally in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79. The **R**'s in each share a large upper bow and thick leg, though the manuscripts differ in the curvature of the **R**'s leg (Würzburg M.p.th.f.79's is bent slightly down, Paris lat. 152's curves slightly concavely, and Paris lat. 17654 has an **R** with an almost straight leg). Thus, we see in physical structure, in some letter forms, and in aspect, these two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale may represent the kind of early Frankish models that lie behind the experimental first quire of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79.

While Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 presents signs of being modelled on a Frankish uncial book perhaps represented by Paris lat. 152 and Paris lat. 17654, there is also another intriguing human drama visible in the material text of the first quire. The leaves bear physical traces of a kind of individual struggle to produce this sort of uncial script (I will take my examples mainly from ff. 1r, 1v, and 2r; see figs. 1, 6, and 7). In long vertical strokes, the hand sometimes wavers, producing curves, swerves, or bends; this is especially apparent in the swerves of the **L** in places (e. g. ff. 1r ll. 8 and 9, 1v l. 16, 2r ll. 14 and 19) or an **L** with a noticeable lean (e. g. f. 1r ll. 7 and 9 and 1v l. 7). The ascenders of some letters are variable in height, as in the **h**-ascenders (see ff. 1r ll. 9 and 15 and 1v l. 17). In some cases, letter forms themselves are inconsistent; compare the loops and shapes of the **a**'s in f. 1r ll. 2 and 3 or 2r l. 13, see the angle of the ascenders on the **d**'s at f. 1r ll. 7 and 9, or see the various descenders on the **p**'s on f. 1r. However, irregular strokes and inconsistent letter forms are minor in comparison to the signs of struggle seen in erasures and corrections. There are numerous cases of erasure (e.g. ff. 1r ll. 6 and 15, 1v ll. 10, 12, and 15, 2r l. 11), added corrections (e.g. ff. 1r ll. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 19 and 20; 1v ll. 3, 5, 10, 13, 17, 19; 2r ll. 1, 4, 10, 20 and 21), and erasure with corrections (ff. 1r ll. 3 and 8; 1v l. 10; 2r l. 9). The overall effect of these inconsistencies, corrections, erasures, and insertions is not merely a cluttered and uneven visual impact, but they seem to witness a troubled but great effort. The impression is that the scribe of the uncial leaves had problems creating this particular text, in this type of uncial, in this particular context.

Furthermore, there are clear inconsistencies in how letters are embellished or finished, suggesting that the scribe vacillated between his or her fluent or regular practice and the intended traits of this Frankish uncial, striving against one or the other. The hairlines at the tops of minims or ascenders vary greatly, as can be seen in the two **h**'s on f. 1r ll. 4 and 5 or in the many finishes on the

ascenders of the **d**'s at f. 1r l. 7 (forked), l. 9 (no hairline, fork or embellishment), and l. 11 (short rising tic at ascender tip). The scribe seems accustomed to ending strokes with wedges, as is also seen in the work of the scribe of MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16, and the slight turning of the pen's degree to effect this stroke can lead to one half of a forked finial as well (when an oblique vertical stroke to fill in the wedge is missed out).[22] This may be why the scribe of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79's uncial often has both forks and wedges in cross-strokes, as in the **T** (compare the triangular wedged crossbar at f. 1r ll. 1 and 2 with the forked crossbars at f. 1r ll. 3 and 10) and the **E** (f. 1r ll. 14 and 18), bearing in mind that the end of the strokes in the **E** vary quite a bit. The irregularities in these and other details of the script (e.g. the loops of the **a**, the tail of the **G**, the verticals of the **N**) suggest an embodied usual practice that the scribe was working against.

In uncial, and particularly uncial of this sort, the triangular wedged terminal on ascenders, cross-strokes, and initial shafts of letters **m** and **n** is less common, though it appears in some uncials "on the decline" as Lowe puts it.[23] In Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 versions of this decorative feature proliferate, often begun and unfinished, as I have pointed out above. The proclivity to wedge terminals is a very telling Insular and Anglo-Saxon trait (according to Bischoff and Brown[24]), especially notable in half-uncial scripts, most famously seen in the Lindisfarne Gospels. What might be visible in the irregularities of the triangle terminals and in the swerving shafts of some ascenders in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 are symptoms of a scribe's normal habit of writing Anglo-Saxon half-uncial. The scribe, striving to produce a Frankish uncial, had to work against his or her training and bodily technique that aimed to wedge the terminals and to create the rounder curves of half-uncial. This tension between his or her usual practice and this other form of script may underlie the inconsistencies, anomalies, and problems seen in the uncial quire in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79.

[22] Bischoff describes the making of the 'triangle terminals' in B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ó CROÍNÍN and D. GANZ (Cambridge, 1990), p. 86.

[23] LOWE, *English Uncial*, p. 20, describing MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16.

[24] BISCHOFF, "Anzeige", p. 333 and *Latin Palaeography*, p. 86; T.J. BROWN, "The Irish element in the Insular system of scripts to circa A.D. 850", in: *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. LÖWE, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1982), 1, pp. 101-119 at p. 101, rpt. in ID, *A Palaeographer's View: Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. BATELY, M. BROWN, and J. ROBERTS (London, 1993), pp. 201-220, at p. 201.

It would be tempting to hypothesise that the messy uncial performance inscribed in this manuscript is not the result of a skilled scribe working outside his or her *métier*, but just a poorly trained or inexperienced scribe making a bad go of things; however, the manuscript preserves a speck of tantalising evidence that the scribe did in fact have a more skilled and assured hand. Of course, if one of the Insular hybrid minuscule hands of the later folios or one of the Insular cursive correcting hands of the first eight leaves is one of the original scribe's scripts, then this claim is patent. However, this cannot be known for certain. More intriguing is the top of f. 2r (see fig. 7), where the scribe seems to lapse into half-uncial with a word that must have been not entirely unusual in his or her scribal work: "*ubicumque*". For the whole word in line one, and for the first part of the word in line two, the scribe produces a solid, clear, and assured half-uncial of a type fairly similar to contemporary Insular half-uncials. The scribe seems to have adjusted the pen degree, making decidedly wedged terminals, and gently curving ascenders, leaving out hairlines and forks as well as the square aspect of the uncial script. This script and perhaps some lower grades of Insular minuscule might represent the scribe's habituated and bodily embedded hand. This tell-tale half-uncial slip – in counterpoint with the problematic, repeatedly corrected, and irregular uncial – suggests a more fluent training in the Insular half-uncial and an unfamiliarity and disorientation with writing a Frankish uncial: working in Insular half-uncial, the scribe was proficient, working in an artificial Frankish uncial, the scribe struggled.

The forms of script in the first quire of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 witness a medieval scribe at odds with his own praxis. Scribes were craftsmen and craftswomen, trained in the tools of reading and writing for years, and with this training came an ability to adjust, adapt, and improvise in the moment and in response to the text at hand, the material conditions of the parchment, ink, pen, light, humidity et cetera. This training was what Sennett calls a "bedding-in of a practice"[25] that allowed scribes to improvise from their bodily *habitus* to produce an intended effect in their materials. Sennett's embedded practice is illuminated well in terms of Mauss's techniques of the body and Pierre Bourdieu's further development of the idea of *habitus*. Mauss explains that the

> constant adaptation to a physical, mechanical or chemical aim (e.g. when we drink) is pursued in a series of assembled actions, and assembled for the individual not by

[25] SENNETT, *The Craftsman*, p. 123.

> himself alone, but by all his education, by the whole society to which he belongs, in the place he occupies in it.[26]

The medieval scribes' relative levels of inebriation or gender aside, Mauss makes clear here that the individual in his or her bodily improvisations is utterly conditioned and expressive of a particular social and historical context: handiwork is the 'performance trace' of the medieval scribe and his or her world.[27] Bourdieu – in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* and his later *The Logic of Practice* – develops this idea, theorising that the *habitus* is a "durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations",[28] suggesting that the culturally embedded bodily techniques of scribes produce the conditions which allow for these techniques' reproduction. The individual, even as he or she improvises to adapt to various material circumstances, transmits ideology.

> Because his actions and works are the product of a *modus operandi* of which he is not the producer and has no conscious mastery, they contain an "objective intention", as the Scholastics put it, which always outruns his conscious intentions.[29]

Thus, the scribe of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79, even as he or she labours to produce a Frankish uncial, persists in reproducing, at least in part, the traits and tics of his or her own training in Insular script, be it Anglo-Saxon half-uncial or Romanising Northumbrian uncial. Bodily practice works unconsciously towards this Romanising and Northumbrian or Kentish 'objective intention', even as the scribe consciously intends to reproduce an aesthetic and ideological affiliation seen in the Frankish script. And it is in this small human drama of a scribe differing from his or her own self that we can see broader historical and cultural narratives.

Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 has both general and particular parallels with Paris lat. 152 and Paris lat. 17654, and these manuscripts may represent the sort of Frankish uncial model that lies behind this vexed English foray into Frankish book making. The signs of struggle in the script do not attest to a poor performance, a meagre scriptorium, or a scribal failure, but rather the intense and

[26] MAUSS, "Techniques", p. 76.

[27] I borrow here from A. N. DOANE, "The ethnography of scribal writing and Anglo-Saxon poetry: The scribe as performer", *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994), pp. 420-439, at p. 420.

[28] P. BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. NICE (Cambridge, 1990), p. 78.

[29] P. BOURDIEU, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. NICE (Cambridge, 1977: *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology* 16), p. 79.

concentrated effort to produce a book that expresses Frankish ideological connections: the troubled script represents a sustained and meaningful act. Understanding this performance in this way raises intriguing questions about Frankish books and English culture in the late seventh and early eighth centuries in western England.

Drawing on the work of Lowe and Bischoff, Rosamond McKitterick has argued that Paris lat. 152 and Paris lat. 17654 are early constituents in a group of manuscripts written in a nuns' scriptorium in a north-east Frankish foundation in the late seventh and early to mid-eighth centuries.[30] The foundation of Chelles has received the most attention, but McKitterick's palaeographical study shows a group of six extant manuscripts likely from Jouarre, the mother house of Chelles, all written in the late seventh or early eighth centuries. They are:[31]

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 17654: Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*;[32]
MS Gotha, Landesbibliothek, Mbr. I.75, ff. 70-122: Victorius, *Canon Paschalis* and *Canones apostolorum*;[33]
MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2706: Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*;[34]
MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2110: Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus Augustini*;[35]
MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 152, ff. 1-8: fragment of *Ezechiel*;[36]
MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12207, ff. a, b, 145-146 + MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12238, f. 128 + MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12243, ff. A, B: Gregory, *Homilia in Ezechielem*.[37]

[30] See LOWE, *CLA* VI, pp. XXI-XXII; B. BISCHOFF, "Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles", in: *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung*: *VI. internationaler Kongress für Frühmittelalterforschung, 1954*, ed. H. AUBIN *et al.* (Wiesbaden, 1957: *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* 3), pp. 395-411; reissued in expanded form in *MS* 1, pp. 16-34. R. MCKITTERICK surveys these groups based mainly on palaeographical evidence in "Nun's scriptoria in England and Francia in the eighth century", *Francia* 19.1 (1992), pp. 1-35.

[31] See MCKITTERICK, "Nuns' scriptoria", pp. 5-6.

[32] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 670.

[33] LOWE, *CLA* VIII, No. 1208.

[34] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 547.

[35] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 541.

[36] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 522.

[37] LOWE, *CLA* V, No. 634.

Almost invariably, these manuscripts are constructed in quires of eight, arranged with the hair-side outward, with hair facing flesh within the quire. Most are written in long lines, pricked and ruled after folding, with pricks or slits in both inner and outer margins (one of a few Insular characteristics found in these north-east Frankish books[38]). All of these physical features correspond with those of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79. This physical profile is not outstandingly exceptional, but if, as Lowe suggests, Insular practice in the late seventh and early eighth centuries was somewhat different – quires of ten rather than eight, particularly – then it is worth noting the physical similarities between Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 and this group that may be from Jouarre at the turn of the eighth century.[39]

The possibility of manuscripts from Jouarre, or perhaps Chelles, forming the models for the foray into Frankish book making in a western Southumbrian Anglo-Saxon foundation is quite intriguing, and suggests potent connections between the Franks and Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and early eighth centuries. There is ample evidence of interaction between Anglo-Saxons and these foundations. Agilbert, later the bishop in Wessex (from 640 to 663 or 664), was the brother of Jouarre's abbess, Theodechild († 667). After King Cenwealh of the West-Saxons divided his see, Agilbert took offence and started out for Northumbria. On the way, according to Stephen's *Vita S. Wilfridi*, Agilbert ordained Wilfrid priest at Ripon in 663 or 664. Later, Agilbert served as Wilfrid's quiet sidekick at the Synod of Whitby, for it seems he never became comfortable in English.[40] He participated in Wilfrid's consecration as bishop in Francia in 664 and later Agilbert became bishop of Paris. When he was invited back to England by Cenwealh to become bishop of Winchester, Agilbert declined and recommended his nephew Leuthere in *c.* 670. Leuthere was consecrated by Theodore of Canterbury in 670 and remained bishop from 670 to 676. Leuthere may have had contact with Aldhelm in Sherborne and been influential in transmitting forms of Latin charters to Anglo-Saxon England.[41]

[38] On the Insular influence on Frankish foundations, see McKitterick, "Diffusion", esp. pp. 406-410.

[39] McKitterick assigns the group to Jouarre in "Diffusion", p. 410.

[40] *Eddius Stephanus Life of St. Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), c. 10, p. 20.

[41] On Agilbert and Leuthere, see *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge *et al.* (Oxford, 1999), s.v.; P. Fouracre, "Agilbert (*d.* 679×90)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) (http://www.oxforddnb.com/ view/article/39117) and id., "Leuthere (*d.* 675/6)", ibid. (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49429). On Frankish connections with Anglo-Saxon England in general, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent*

Wilfrid himself – active and influenced by Frankish foundations earlier in his career – was an important force in the Worcester region in the later seventh century. These men's lives speak to Frankish influence in England, but Anglo-Saxons were prominent in Francia as well. In the second half of the seventh century, Chelles was refounded and endowed by the Englishwoman and once queen consort Balthild, widow of the Merovingian king Clovis II. Balthild enlisted the help of Bertila, by then abbess of Jouarre after serving under Theodechild. Bertila came to Chelles as abbess in *c.* 660, bringing with her some of her sister nuns, and remained abbess of Chelles to the time of her death in *c.* 710. Thus the Frankish impact in Anglo-Saxon England (and vice versa) was significant in the seventh and early eighth centuries.

Bertila of Chelles is a particularly compelling case for the link. In her *Vita*, Bertila is said to have sent relics, books, and personnel to England to aid fledgling foundations:

> *ut etiam ab transmarinis partibus Saxoniae reges illi fideles ab ea per missos fideles postularent, ut illis de suis discipulis ad eruditionem vel sanctam instructionem, quam audierant esse in ea mirabilem, dirigeret, seu etiam qui virorum et sanctimonialium coenobia in illa regione construerent. Quam religiosam petitionem pro salute animarum non denegavit, sed cum consilio seniorum, exortantibus fratribus, grato animo cum magna diligentia et patrocinio sanctorum seu et voluminibus multis librorum electas personas et devotissimos homines illuc direxit, ut per eam fructus animarum etiam in illa gente accresceret et cum Dei gratia multiplicaretur.*[42]

> Faithful kings from the parts of Saxondom across the seas would ask her through trusty messengers to send some of her followers for teaching or sacred instruction (which they had heard that she possessed to a marvellous degree) or even those who might establish monasteries of men and women in that region. For the good of their souls, she did not refuse this religious request; rather, with the counsel of the elders and the encouragement of the brothers she did send, with a thankful heart, chosen women and very devout men thither with great diligence, with both saints' relics and many volumes of books, so that through her the yield of souls increased even in that people, and, by the grace of God, was multiplied.[43]

in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946), esp. pp. 1-14; on Frankish influence on Anglo-Saxon Latin charters in particular, see *ibid.*, pp. 226-228.

[42] *Vita S. Bertilae Abbatissae Calensis*, ed. W. LEVISON in: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici (IV)*, ed. B. KRUSCH and W. LEVISON (Hannover and Leipzig, 1913: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 6), c. 6, pp. 106-107.

[43] Trans. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature*, p. 110.

It is tempting to imagine that the books sent by Bertila, or books like them, motivated the making of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79: a nascent centre in England, receiving books, personnel, and relics from a well-known centre of piety and learning may have felt an ideological and aesthetic affiliation with the Frankish benefactress's foundation and its visible signs, the cultural artifacts of books. In the late 600s and early 700s, Jouarre and Chelles were both double houses, inspired by their Columbanan heritage. In these foundations, both men and women worked in the scriptoria and in the last decades of the seventh century and early decades of the eighth century, Bertila's spiritual and intellectual circle and followers persisted in the uncial and half-uncial scripts that characterised her foundations. In its emulation of Frankish uncial, the first quire of Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 may re-enact that ideological and aesthetic commitment, though not without a struggle: it may be a conscious act to demonstrate how Bertila's "*fructus ... multiplicaretur*" in England at a young and growing intellectual and religious centre.

An aspect of that growth is the aesthetic and thus, in part, ideological divergence from the Romanising forms of uncial script so powerfully performed in Northumbria and Canterbury in the seventh and eighth centuries. The deliberate, painstaking, and even painful, attempt – to view the awkwardness, the heavy corrections and errors in Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 – to replicate a Frankish uncial may signify an affiliation with Frankish monastic organisation and outlook. The local adoption of a Frankish script may stem from local allegiance to a Frankish mission in England, such as Bertila's, or even the Frankish connections of the powerful and prickly Wilfrid. Wilfrid spent part of his career in Francia, and while he was strongly committed to the Roman Church, he was also occasionally at odds with Canterbury and problematic in Northumbria, as Bede's elisions and silences make clear.[44] Würzburg M.p.th.f.79 may be an expression of Wilfridian *franco-romanitas*. The scribe who wrote the manuscript expressed – or tried to express – a particular cultural attachment, one slightly different from the dominant implications of the Italian-type uncial found in Northumbria and Kent. Like books themselves, these attachments were local, personal, and human, but to us now over thirteen hundred years later, they seem fleeting, fragmentary, and piecemeal; it is in the unique and

[44] See *Blackwell Encyclopedia* and A. THACKER, "Wilfrid [St. Wilfrid] (*c.* 634- 709/10)", in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) (http://www. oxforddnb.com/view/article/29409) for an overview of Wilfrid's life, and see W. GOFFART, *The Narrators of Barbarian History, AD 550-800: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), pp. 235-328 on Bede's rendition of Wilfrid's life.

specific details of the material manuscript with its traces of human habit and intentionality that we can recover personal and ideological commitments and implications for books in early Anglo-Saxon England.

On the Nature of Matched Scribal Hands

PATRICK W. CONNER

Introduction

During the summer of 1982, I spent an afternoon thinking about a problem I thought to be restricted to MS Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501 (The Exeter Book). In his groundbreaking 1933 study of the script in which all of the poetry in the codex is written, Robin Flower asserted "several scribes were employed". The two eminent scholars of Old English manuscripts, Neil R. Ker and Kenneth Sisam, demurred. "The hand is the same throughout", wrote Ker in his magisterial *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*; "... even the authority of Mr. Flower will not persuade me that more than one scribe was employed", wrote Sisam in a rare show of disdain, enclosed in parentheses.[1] This, I remember thinking, should be a good summer project, resulting in a modest but conclusive study after a few weeks and leaving time for more important summer pursuits. If there were one hand, its smallest variations would be statistically predictable, and if there were more, those same variations would cluster in such a way as to provide 'signatures' for what would have to be regarded as a set of matched hands. I presented my findings three years later at Cambridge before the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, using the scribal differences I had discovered that summer to support my argument for the tripartite nature of the Exeter Book, which were bolstered by

[1] R. FLOWER, "The script of the Exeter Book", in: *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R.W. CHAMBERS, M. FÖRSTER, and R. FLOWER (London, 1933), pp. 83-94, at p. 85; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 153, No. 116; K. SISAM, [untitled review], *Review of English Studies* 10 (1934), pp. 338-342, at p. 340.

a number of other details about the codicology of the manuscript. At that time, I only wanted to show the likelihood that the manuscript was composite, and had given up trying to assert either multiple or a single scribe's having written the manuscript. In my study of the manuscript published in 1993, I established three patterns of ligaturing with the long-s, and I wrote, "it is more probable that a single scribe wrote the Exeter Book than that three scribes did, for, if there were three, we are led to an astonishing conclusion about the place of vernacular poetry at Exeter. If there were three scribes, their hands are so closely matched that the production of the manuscript must immediately be viewed as an anomaly among tenth-century vernacular manuscripts, and we significantly increase the number of hypotheses which must be tested if we assert the inordinate concern for vernacular poetry implied by the training of several scribes to the nearly unvarying reproduction of a single model".[2] But now, to quote American poet Amiri Baraka, "I ain't quite so sure".[3] The codicology has not changed, but the three divisions may in fact have had three (or two) scribes, or the evidence to be derived from a matched-hands analysis of the manuscript might leave us more certain of the presence of one scribe, and equally more certain of the order in which he or she accomplished the surviving oeuvre, including the order in which the parts of the codex were written.

A significant difficulty for the palaeographer depends on the reliability of accounting fully for barely perceptible changes in script or hand. The problem is not that we cannot see these; rather, the problem is that we cannot agree on when such changes represent perhaps merely a new stint by the same scribe, or maybe a brief rest of the pen in order to chat or chant for a moment, thus allowing the ink in the pot to settle and to change slightly in its saturation, which alters its look more dramatically as the iron-gall ink oxidises over the years, or maybe that change is due to a new pen being introduced or an old one being recut, or possibly the material becomes difficult for the scribe to hold in short-term memory between the exemplar and the new page, requiring him to slow down and thus change the rhythm of his / her work, or maybe the text itself offers a different pattern of ascenders and descenders, as happens when one compares the same scribe writing in Latin and Old English, or perhaps the

[2] P.W. CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter, A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 117-118.

[3] A. BARAKA (a.k.a. LE ROI JONES), "For Hettie", in: ID., *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note* (New York, 1961), p. 13.

scribe simply realised that there is more material to be copied than convenient space for it, and makes one radical shift of his spacing, ignoring the rulings and writes two lines in the space of one. All of these and more create very confusing data, and if the letter forms are identical and the manuscript's codicology does not tell against the data, on what bases may one posit the work of more than one scribe when dealing with matched hands? A new field, 'digital palaeography' is now growing up and it promises to deal with our understanding of matched hands on a more objective basis.[4] Such applications make it all the more important to construct and test a theory of matched hands.

The number of scribes writing a single hand is an important consideration. If we decide that there is but one scribe, then no matter how distinctive the script, we cannot use that scribe's work to localise the manuscript's production, unless we can find the same work in another context external to the object of study. On the other hand, two connected scribes, even when they are not matched, offer the opportunity to claim more information than the presence of either could do alone. A particularly productive example of this is offered by the two hands used to write *Beowulf*, the one being quite distinctive from one another. David Dumville has drawn on the conjunction of these two hands, identifying each with the datable *termini* of similar scripts in order to claim that the manuscript cannot, on the surviving evidence, have been written later than the end of King Æthelred's reign in 1016.[5] Others, most notably Kevin Kiernan, have objected to an argument that does not recognise that too narrowly dating a cultural phenomenon is not possible. Datable scripts are a cultural phenomenon, and scholars have long connected them with ideologically constructed contexts such as the reigns of specific kings and the importation of religious reforms. They are, as a component of a cultural *habitus*, endowed with what Pierre Bourdieu calls a 'durable' (or enduring) quality, and thus, as the argument counter to Dumville's on dating at the conjunction of the two hands goes, a narrow dating ignores certain basic attributes of a medieval

[4] *Kodikologie und Paläographie im Digitalen Zeitalter – Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age*, ed. M. REHBEIN, P. SAHLE, and T. SCHAßAN (Norderstedt, 2009: *Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik* 2); of particular value in dealing with matched hands using QUILL, a writing identification tool which applies developments from artificial intelligence studies, see M. AUSSEMS and A. BRINK, "Digital Palaeography", in: *Kodikologie und Paläographie*, pp. 293-308 (also accessible at http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/2939/).

[5] D. DUMVILLE, "Beowulf come lately: Some notes on the palaeography of the Nowell codex", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 225 (1988), pp. 49-63, at p. 50; See also ID., "The *Beowulf*-manuscript and how not to date it", *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* 39 (1998), pp. 21-27, at p. 24.

scriptorium's production.[6] Both arguments are instructive for my purpose: counter-intuitive though it appears, Dumville's position is in fact arguing for a synchronic methodology; Kiernan supports a diachronic one. I shall address these more fully as I approach the problem of closely matched hands from diachronic and synchronic points of view.

Although it is highly probable that both scripts used to copy *Beowulf* were written in the same scriptorium, they are not matched, and yet there is evidence of a kind of scribal training in the larger monasteries, wherein several boys (or, indeed, girls who would become nuns), learning their craft under the same master, strove (or were seriously urged to strive) to match the hands they wrote as closely as possible. Often, they came very close to succeeding; moreover, when they did succeed, the evidence for multiple scribes should not be apparent. In such cases, it is likely that more products from larger scriptoria were produced from the beginning, and so it may be that more of these survived by chance. The recognition of these would account for more surviving examples of a script produced by the same scriptorium allowing us, if we could disambiguate matched hands readily, a better chance to deduce a connection between at least one surviving example and its centre of creation. Then one might bring the institution's history to bear on the creation and reception of the text and its art. What are the standards, then, required to identify two hands as 'matched'? When it can be determined that a text exhibits matched hands, is it also possible to make fundamental assumptions about the house and scriptorium in which the text was written? What are the implications in the use of matched hands for the continual development of scripts associated with a succession of kings from Æthelstan to the Conquest? This study, then, is a prolegomenon to a chapter yet to be written on the subject of disambiguating matched scribal hands in medieval contexts. More than one quarter of a century after first attempting to deal with the problem, I feel ready to make a few tentative suggestions on both the theory behind studying this phenomenon and what in modern praxis would seem to inform that theory.

[6] K.S. Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, rev. edn. (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997), pp. XV-XVI; for a further discussion of *habitus* concerning scribal work, see M.T. Hussey, "Anglo-Saxon scribal *habitus* and Frankish aesthetics in an early uncial manuscript", in this volume, pp. 15-37; also, *infra*, pp. 43-51.

A Theory of Matched Hands

In order to demonstrate the importance of a materialist approach to the palaeographical issue at hand – that of the identification and disambiguation of intentionally matched hands – it becomes necessary to examine not only the constituent material of the phenomenon that concerns us, but also the boundaries of that material. It is a commonplace among palaeographers that what is used to make the ink, whether the pen is a quill or a stylus, and how the substrate is prepared all affect the scribe's work; it is less often mentioned that even what we mean by the 'scribe's work' is in need of further discussion. In some cases, we may be speaking of the scribe *at* work – that is, about the process of writing – and, in other cases, we may mean the work *of* the scribe – that is, the product of writing. Where it is a simple matter to disambiguate hands in a manuscript, a consideration of the latter is generally all we need to consider but, clearly, any attempt to discuss the matching of handwriting will have to deal with issues of training, for which we shall have to imagine the scribe at work as well as considering the product he or she produces. Training, whether formal or informal, is basic to what will be understood more clearly as the scribe's *habitus* as we proceed. At the heart of the nature of the evidence for matched hands must be a clear understanding of how divergent persons and circumstances can converge to seem not like counterfeits one of the other, wherein one is 'true' and 'original' and the other is a deceptive copy, but rather as if both are sources of the residual material trace, for that is clearly the goal of those trying to match their hands as carefully as possible.

What, then, are the binary axes that will help us to organise not only the trace of a scriptorium's communal effort in the distant past, but which will also orient us to some of the important issues in the matter of disambiguating matched hands for any number of scholarly reasons? I shall examine temporal, spatial, and discursive axes here in order to elaborate a theoretical background of this approach, and from there turn to observations and experiments with regard to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. I hope (and expect) that all of this will be more or less applicable to the study of identical handwriting ranging from palaeographical applications to forensic ones, but I am mainly concerned here to contribute directly to the study of the former.

The temporal axis on which these considerations are based takes into account that matched hands are designed at one place in time and subsequently mastered by multiple scribes who may, for all intents and purposes, be contem-

poraries, or who may learn serially over time. I shall label the former of these 'synchronic' and the latter 'diachronic'.

Synchronic or contemporary hands offer some interesting problems, and many dimensions of these will be considered elsewhere in this study.[7] Here I shall stick to structural relationships that require an active scriptorium.[8] Although physical laws demand that a purely synchronic writing situation could never be created, a scriptorium substitutes a place or, in a carefully regulated monastic house, possibly an appointed time, for individuals to come together for the purpose of copying and / or composing. David Dumville's methodology mentioned above, in which he looked for examples in unambiguously dated contexts of the two scripts (or taxonomies of writing) employed by the two scribes of the *Beowulf* manuscript, is in fact a synchronic approach to analysing a scribal *habitus*; the method defines a single, hard-edged period within which the manuscript's production can be dated. Such a method makes the usual synchronic assumptions after that: we cannot say whether the two hands co-exist early or late in the period so circumscribed, but only that the evidence will support manuscript production in the dating range of CE 997 × 1016. No other evidence is offered to enlarge or reduce this temporal space.

More might, however, be said about the way a text can be produced within a temporal space, as Dumville outlines it, particularly if the manuscript's production is further defined by the presence of matching hands. In describing his needs for the St. John's Bible project to Christopher Calderhead, Donald Jackson has outlined quite well the required nature of a scriptorium of matched-hand scribes.[9]

> "Calligraphers aren't trained for this kind of work. Who are the great calligraphers? Thomas Ingmire, Denis Brown. Great personalities, unique personalities. But here

[7] See *infra*, pp. 48-49.

[8] I would argue that a lone scribe does not constitute a proper scriptorium without contemporaries who are also scribes in the same institution – either a religious house or the chancery in our period – or without an apprentice to carry on his or her duties. In R. CLEMENTS and T. GRAHAM, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY, 2007), p. 269, 'scriptorium' is defined as "[t]he room in a monastery or church set aside for the copying of manuscripts". Certainly, this is its narrowest meaning, but I shall used the word to signify the organisation and activities of that room, and in a study of matched hands, I cannot concern myself with those scriptoria reserved for the work of a single scribe.

[9] C. CALDERHEAD, *Illuminating the Word: The Making of the Saint John's Bible* (Collegeville, MN, 2005), pp. 41-42. I am much indebted to Cheryl Jacobsen for suggesting the possibilities of examining the St. John's Bible as a living laboratory in matched hands.

on this project I want people to understand, 'It is not my idiosyncrasies which are valued, but my consistency and the group harmonic'".

Donald compared the task at hand to the work of professional musicians. If you are hired to be part of a band, you know how to pick up your instrument and join in. You adjust to the rhythms of the group and you're ready to play on an afternoon's notice.

Calligraphers by contrast usually work by themselves. Their training is often based on a careful detailed analysis of the letter forms they are trying to use. This leads to a great deal of examination of pen angle, the width of the strokes, the shapes of the arches and all the minutiae which make up a well thought-through calligraphic script.

"I am also looking for a team which can be responsive to me. They need to show a willingness to empty themselves, so I can take them where we need to go together".

The concept of 'self-emptying' is prominent in Zen; it is also related to the Benedictine concept of humility, its importance being made clear in the Benedictine Rule.[10] Because the St. John's Bible project is supported by the Order of St. Benedict at Collegeville, Minnesota, we may suppose that Jackson's statement even reflects his association with the community, but – for the purposes of this study – it is important to note that contemporaneity of scribes, such as he describes, requires a class hierarchy in order to achieve matched hands which are harmonious. There must be a leader to establish a standard and to demand that others adhere to it, and those under that leader must maintain a critical eye on their own work as it is measured against the work of the leader. The matching of hands in early medieval scriptoria was achieved in monastic communities, where skilled contemporaries used to receiving direction might work not only in mastering the letter forms necessary to a script, but its aspect, scale, weight, and rhythms in a harmonic that would otherwise have been impossible.

Understanding the theoretical basis of this education has implications not only for understanding the organisation of a scriptorium, but perhaps for monastic practice itself. Marcel Mauss and, later, Pierre Bourdieu developed the

[10] "If there be skilled workmen in the monastery, let them work at their art in all humility, if the Abbot giveth his permission. But if anyone of them should grow proud by reason of his art, in that he seemeth to confer a benefit on the monastery, let him be removed from that work and not return to it, unless after he hath humbled himself, the Abbot again ordereth him to do so" (*The Holy Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. B. VERHEYEN (Atchison, KS, 1949), c. LVII). I shall return to the problem of monasticism and matched scribal habits *infra*, pp. 47-49.

concept of *habitus*, mentioned above, which is useful as a starting point for examining cultural production of the sort that matched hands imply.[11] A durable *habitus* is not an obstacle to matched hands in the way it can become an obstacle when two different scribal practices contend for the right to dominate a scribe's movements, as Hussey demonstrates elsewhere in this collection. As easily as the *habitus* can retard the formation of a new hand, including all of the associated contextual and social associations external to it, a scribe's *habitus* can also serve as the foundation on which seemingly identical hands are built when two or more scribes share the same *habitus*.[12] The grand production of the Insular Gospel books of the eighth century, for example, seems to have derived from highly regular religious houses, similar to the order and resources Bede describes at Jarrow.[13] I shall turn to the Book of Kells below to discuss its matched hands, and it is worth mentioning here that the *habitus* we can expect to have been a part of the monasticism that produced that book with several matched hands is doubtlessly related to the discipline of the community as a whole. Durable and embodied, it extended from monks' voices focused in an absolute and unvarying singing of the Psalter to the regulation of everything from the manner of eating, to praying, to reading, and thence to one's very conception of one's place in the world. We should hardly be surprised that palaeographers still find it difficult to disambiguate the hands in The Book of Kells. That such high quality of manuscript production is lost in the ninth century, which I infer from what King Alfred writes about unused books from the past in his Preface to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* and the difficulty in finding Anglo-Saxon books with matched hands from this period, is surely tied to the loss not of monasticism generally, for many houses remained, but of a change

[11] For the roots of the concept, see M. MAUSS, "Les techniques du corps", *Journal de Psychologie* 32 (1935), pp. 271-293; on further elaboration of the concept, see P. BOURDIEU, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. NICE (Cambridge, 1977).

[12] Organisational theorist Alistair Mutch has cogently listed the dimensions of the term, using Basil Bernstein's refinements to Bourdieu's work: "these are that the *habitus* is related to the social conditions of its production, that it is unconsciously acquired, that it is durable and embodied, and that it transcends different social circumstances to produce characteristic dispositions to act" (A. MUTCH, "Communities of practice and habitus: A critique", *Organization Studies* 24 (2003), pp. 383-401, at p. 396).

[13] One approach to establishing such a history for these books is given by M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), pp. 53-55. On the creation of the regulated and regular without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, one understands these works as being "collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organising action of a conductor" (P. BOURDIEU, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. NICE (Cambridge, 1990), p. 53).

in the social conditions of monastic production, whose standards in nearly all matters were considered 'lax' before condemnatory reforming voices were raised in the early tenth century.

One doubts that the standards of the earlier scriptoria were consciously realised as reflections of the choir and other monastic disciplines except in the most general ways, and it is entirely possible that the motivation to match hands was an unconscious act in these monasteries, and that not to do so is not remarkable in those houses which operated under a different *habitus* later. If I am right in this, it is not the having of wives and not the refusal to sleep in a common dormitory or the other 'excesses' perceived by reformers nor even the sporadic raids by Norse pirates which changed the *habitus* that had been productive of the eighth-century monastic scriptorial practice, for these are social circumstances which the 'community of practice' should have been able to accommodate, albeit in different ways at different institutions, without destroying a mode of communal work that appears to have been socially valued. Rather, the shift in what social theorists call a 'community of practice' appears to have created a new paradigm for monastic production whose predominance in the ninth century may explain the loss of many things, including matched scribal hands, which we associate with the great monastic houses of northern England in the eighth century and which became current again in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

'Communities of practice', a term current among cognitive anthropologists, especially learning theorists Étienne Wenger and Jean Lave who have most examined its applications, is particularly relevant to understanding the forces at play in the construction of matched hands. Wenger defines the term thus: "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly".[14] Consequently, a community of practice necessarily creates a shared identity through engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities. A community of practice is not, however, an informal group or network of connections between people. It is defined by identity within a shared domain of interest, and in our case that domain is the larger aims of the monastery, the 'community' referred to in the phrase being that of the scriptorium, which may

[14] For an authoritative overview of the theoretical basis of communities of practice, see É. WENGER, "Communities of practice: A brief introduction", which can be found at http://www.ewenger.com/theory/communities_of_practice_intro.htm. The full statement of the theory is ID., *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge, 1998).

have been more broadly distributed throughout the cloister as well as within a single area reserved for it. In Wenger's theory as in monastic practice, membership implies a commitment to the domain, which conditions a shared competence that particularises this community. Moreover, the members of a community of practice are practitioners with a shared repertoire of resources that might well include stories, gestures, and the assumption of certain privileges, as well as supplies, tools, and habitual ways of addressing recurring problems. The emphasis of the whole enterprise is on a 'shared' practice, but not on the business of consciously sharing the learning it entails. The skills to be learned take time and sustained interaction to be created at the level we see in matched scribal hands, but it is only through shared practice within a properly supporting domain and scribal community that such results can be developed. A *habitus* is probably a necessary precondition for the development of a community of practice, but the two should not be conflated with one another.

Communities of practice comprise, we shall find, a sociological phenomenon called 'interaction rituals'. Interaction ritual, as classically elaborated by Randall Collins, is a micro-sociological approach which seeks to understand repeated human activities within the rituals of interaction capable of generating what Collins calls "emotional energy", the capital regularly sought by those to whom it is available and thus the motivation for one to engage in the rituals which generate it.[15] Mauss and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* describes a condition into which we can certainly fit scribal practice. The exacting phenomenon of matched scribal hands, however, goes beyond this because it requires us to explain inordinate levels of harmony and coordination among all of the scribes involved in a manuscript. We have to envision scribal engagement in interaction rituals from which 'emotional energy' drives not only the continuity of the work but the nearly superhuman effort that must accompany learning to write book hands which are virtually indistinguishable from one another; thus, we are able to see more clearly the forces which coalesce in a synchronic conception of scribal training to explain the phenomenon at hand. Just as labouring at the liturgy is,[16] within the monastery, an obvious interaction ritual with en-

[15] R. COLLINS, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (Princeton, NJ, 2004: *Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology*), pp. 3-4.

[16] The word 'liturgy' comes from Classical Greek ëåõïõãßá meaning a 'public work', which even in its pre-Christian sense contained the sense of an interaction ritual, not unlike the Hebrew *mitzvah*, a good deed done unselfishly, which thus bestows an emotional energy; the word has lost some of its force in the Yiddish context as simply a good deed for which no recompense nor acknowledgement is permitted, but in Hebrew its performance was not optional, and this may come closer to the concept of an interaction ritual.

chained relationships depending on the interaction of those who manage its performance in the choir as well as being an obvious religious ritual in the usual sense of the word involving intoning the appropriate Psalms and canticles antiphonally or providing responses and hymns during Mass, so the work of the scriptorium is a similar locus where it was assumed that divine work was being done, and the production of matched hands might well owe their development to the effect of the interaction rituals created in that context. We certainly need more data on the distribution of matched hands, but my impression is that their appearance correlates positively with the development of other monastic practices, such as liturgical development, renewed interest in ascetic disciplines, and the multiplication of exegetical readings of scripture by those with adherents for whom such texts provide interactions with their leaders which can be ritualised and from which the emotional capital that would be required to live contentedly in a monastery might be derived.

It is difficult to overstress the importance of such sociological theory in the study of early medieval manuscripts, because matched hands will always convey to us in the post-medieval period a sense of communal authority, official importance, and prolonged dedication, and these virtues are relevant for issues ranging from reader reception to materialist literary history. But we must try to understand that they are not virtues imposed institutionally, or the perfection of form we see in the writing of many of these institutions is most unlikely to have been achieved without the sense of a community of practice furnished with rituals governing the interaction of its members which effectively occluded conventional, top-down institutional demands.

Certainly, we would expect a complement of matched hands to be executed by scribes who are each other's contemporary, but a diachronic domain on the temporal axis emphasises two important urges that may also motivate matched hands. On the one hand, it is indeed possible for one or a series of later scribes to cut across time (as 'diachronic' etymologically implies) in order to master an earlier hand. While this may be undertaken for nefarious purposes, my concern is in the way that such activities provide a materialist experimental base for a hand under review. Kevin Kiernan's argument to extend the dating of the two scribes' hands in *Beowulf* to a period later than Dumville's external dating of the two hands on the basis of externally datable samples assumes the importance of a diachronic analysis by asserting the power of the durative nature of scribal hands, which is also a significant trait of the *habitus*. Just as Dumville argues that the scribe's efforts have to be closed up in a temporal shell, as it

were, Kiernan would open them up to the broadest possible span of time.[17] We may imagine that it is possible for scribes to call forth a hand in order to update a text that would match an established hand already used in the manuscript. I anticipate and look forward to seeing material evidence someday that such productions have survived.

The closest we can get to communicating with a scribe involved in writing an Anglo-Saxon hand today, however, is to talk to a calligrapher who has subsequently matched the hand and can speak in a modern idiom to its challenges. On the other hand, the diachronic analysis may be responsible for confusion in assigning performances to individual scribes where slight variations are wrongly interpreted to represent the work of a single scribe at different times of her life. In such a case, diachronesis is assumed to have been operating when in fact it has not. Conversely in codices with divisions in booklets or even in the case of separate books in a single script, there is always the possibility that one scribe was responsible for the whole work, although he produced its parts at different times. Indeed, I have argued something similar with regard to the Exeter Book.[18]

A consideration of matched hands in a spatial context is, in fact, more complex in the instance of matched scribes than is the temporal axis. It deals with the need to fill space with writing as well as with the nature of the space being filled. I will not here undertake to explain the physical substrate – usually parchment or membranes in our period – since the selection, grading, and preparation of parchment is on the one hand similar whether multiple matched scribes are used or not, and on the other hand it becomes an exceedingly complicated matter for the codicologist to describe when scribes are obliged to scrape, pounce, and rule their own membranes, thus introducing more small variations than their writing alone would demonstrate.[19] In Donald Jackson's scriptorium for the St. John's Bible, the several matched scribes employed were given their texts as cast-off copy, so that a scribe writing the outside bifolium of an eight-leaf gathering would write ff. 1r, 1v, 8r, and 8v of the text, leaving exactly enough room between ff. 1v and 8r for the contents of the re-

[17] See *supra*, n. 6.

[18] CONNER, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 119.

[19] In fact, it is a nice question whether some arguments observant of membrane differences do not offer a major clue to the existence of matched hands and arguments suggesting a single scribe are not more compelling then those for multiple scribes where different traditions of manuscript preparation are clear. A scriptorium of matched scribes provides the perfect milieu to work with 'cast-off copy', as printers would later say.

maining three bifolia folded inside one another. The exact text to fill each leaf was, in this case, determined by a standard text layout programme set to the type styles and sizes that approximated the spacing of the hands to be used on that page. Thus, cast-off copy was allotted very accurately in a way not available to medieval scribes.[20] Instead, their relationship with their writing space was determined by a careful interaction – another dimension of the community of practice and requiring its own interaction rituals – and even then we regularly find manuscripts where the scribe was hard put to finish the text in the space given him, and he was forced to crowd in more text than the rulings were planned to accommodate. Such crowding destroys the matched look of the hand. While a monastery might allow this where a text was being created for personal or local reference, high status bibles, Gospel books, and the like could not allow such because they were objects for display meant to convey the opulence granted by their special associations, and the recent St. John's Bible project is akin to these early books in that same way. All of them are meant to exhibit the monastic *habitus*. Too many people have used too much time and too many resources to have the effect ruined by an inability to calculate what printers would later call 'imposition'. The spatial axes that affect the success of matching scribal hands include contiguity and complementarity.

When two hands are contiguous, they are located next to one another on the same page, and it is necessary to conclude that one was written following the other. When dealing with matched hands, it is not easy to see the division of labour between two scribes; in fact, one assumes that such a division is intentionally hidden. Indeed, a hand that can be shown to differ from one preceding it will sometimes attempt to match the former for the first several lines of his or her performance in order to create a smooth transition between the scribes. In any case, the space itself thus contributes to the desire for and nature of matching hands.

When two hands are complementary, they are located in the same unit of the manuscript, but they are not juxtaposed on the same page. Even where the hands are not matched, it is possible to provide a more uniform product if no page spread betrays a lack of visual harmony, so matched hands in such a complementary placement still demonstrate the value of the *habitus* which accommodates matched hands. For example, Western manuscripts do not habitually employ white space without according it significance. Therefore, we may find skipped lines and other 'breaks' between texts and major textual divisions, but

[20] CALDERHEAD, *Illuminating the Word*, p. 96.

a scribe may need to stretch out texts that are juxtaposed in a complementary arrangement, if more space is available than he needs. That, in turn, will undermine the effect of matching hands in the first place, so a scribe well trained in the *mise en page* techniques of the early medieval manuscript will arrange to drop lines long before he or she gets to that point, or she will, if possible, rule the complementary gathering with fewer lines. Whereas contiguous hands have to effect an invisible join if they are going to be considered matched and are thus controlled by the space they occupy, complementary hands may well alter their space by changing or ignoring rulings or even finishing a full leaf ahead of where it was thought they would end and so allowing the resulting blank leaf to be cancelled and so cut away. These and similar remedies undertaken to achieve complementarity in the matching of hands are a few indications of ways that the desire of a unified appearance in the manuscript is in part driven by spatial considerations.

The discursive axis onto which we can also match scribal identities can be assigned to linguistic or social domains, although it must be observed that a clear demarcation between the two will not be possible, because they are of course simply different perspectives on the same phenomenon, in the way that physicists may look at the phenomenon of light as a particular or as a wave phenomenon, but not simultaneously as both. The linguistic domain of the discursive axis of scribal effort is of course related to the language's being written in several ways. It has, for example, been noted that a late Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing both Latin and Old English will include the former in a Carolingian minuscule and the latter in an Insular minuscule.[21] While such a division is clearly linguistic, it also responds to the diachronic domain of the temporal axis, for earlier, high status manuscripts will often use Insular scripts for Latin, as the great Insular Gospel books of the eighth and ninth centuries tend to demonstrate, so that the choice of a Continental script must be seen as part of a developing aesthetic, whatever the impulse behind it. The linguistic domain of matched hands goes beyond simply matching a script to a language; it also requires the participating scribes to share similar approaches to the languages they are writing. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and particularly those written in Old English, tend to be written in long lines across the full width of the writing grid, which affects the aspect of the writing, but small linguistic particles are often written together (e.g., *inge*, *ofto*), and long compounds may be separated into their constituents. Prefixes and inflectional affixes may also be

[21] See KER, *Catalogue*, p. XXVI.

separated from the head word when it seems linguistically or visually pleasing; such habits nevertheless reflect the scribe's approach to the language of the text. With matched hands, these habits need to be more or less shared by everyone writing the text or the aspect of the page will appear to differ from the standard, but the small distinctions in the degree to which they are adopted by different scribes may help identify the hands.

We shall find it helpful to segregate what was just described as a linguistic analysis from what I prefer to call a social one, recognising that social habits and tendencies are discursively and linguistically constructed in the terms used by cultural studies practitioners today. But the very business of having two scribes synchronise their handwriting to the point that it requires specialists to see where the work of one begins and the other ends implies in itself a special and undoubtedly important social condition. A cursory study of the Benedictine Rule and attention to but a few of the publications regarding early medieval monasticism will provide a description of the espoused ideals of the monks who produced these books.[22] One can imagine, however, an ideal of hands that complement one another, but which are distinct in themselves; models for this appear in the way display hands are chosen to accompany a running text, or even in instances where hands blend but still preserve clear differences even to the untrained eye. The real social dimension of the discursive axis of matched hands has to do with an ideal that suppresses any concept of individual labour or at least of such labour redounding to the credit of an individual. Michelle Brown has explored the religious philosophies underpinning the Lindisfarne Gospels (MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv) and these may well be extended in appreciating that the very heart of monasticism might underpin the desire to create manuscripts using carefully matched scribes.[23] The act of writing becomes, in that situation, a pious, religious act, and bringing one's hand as closely as is possible to match a model, consciously or not, would have been like monasticism's stated ideal of bringing one's life to mirror Christ's as closely as possible.

The St. John's Bible project headed by Donald Jackson is similar to the early scribal works. In spite of references to scribal attitudes that would seem to demand attention to a religious attitude, these artists and scribes are most strongly bound to one another in terms of mastering the problems of produc-

[22] See Abbot Klassen of St. John's Abbey, "On Benedictine asceticism", at http://www.saintjohnsabbey.org/abbot/030305asc.html. See also *Rule of Saint Benedict*, c. XLIX: "The life of a monk ought always to be a Lenten observance".

[23] BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, pp. 395-408.

tion, and a quick look at the project's website will indicate the economics of this production and suggest how it is related to the reproductive practices defined for this project.[24] There is a difference, of course; the productions of monastic scriptoria were not required to raise funds to pay for themselves. The medieval productions were intended to generate spiritual value, and the St. John's Bible must perforce provide for the income of those creating it. Thus, while we must not discount the monastic spirit that inheres to scriptorium practice in the early Middle Ages, we must also appreciate that there is a sociology in all artists' and craftsmen's workshops and ateliers in which choices – and matching hands is such a choice – are articulated and demanded by the group, often for a combination of stylistic and functional reasons. Indeed, a major function of such work may be simply to identify the production with the community that produced it. The economic value of this, where applicable, should be apparent, as should the spiritual value.

Training Matched Hands

It is nothing new in the study of palaeography to look for the differences among similar hands, and we often debate whether it is the aspect of the page or the letter forms themselves that best indicate these changes. Léon Gilissen argues that aspect is a function of the minutiae of letter forms, such as the exact angle of the pen, beyond what is taught in teaching a script type as these things coalesce on the page.[25] My own feeling, however, is that aspect is a function of something even harder to pin down: it is the function of the quality and amount of control in the fluid – by which I mean the controlled but rapid – execution of the script.[26] A scribe learns the need to develop this in his or her training, but attaining the ability comes from hours of work that, in the case of matched scribes, must be coordinated in the most exacting ways.

'The amount of control' alluded to above is an obvious concept. 'Quality of control' has to do with how much attention one's hand can give to the small-

[24] http://www.saintjohnsbible.org/.

[25] L. GILISSEN, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales: recherche d'une méthode avec application à un manuscrit du XIème siècle: le lectionnaire de Lobbes (Codex Bruxellensis 18018)* (Ghent, 1973), p. 50.

[26] CLEMENTS and GRAHAM, *Introduction*, pp. 22-23; M. GULLICK, "How fast did scribes write? Evidence from Romanesque manuscripts", in: *Making the Manuscript Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. L. BROWNRIGG (Los Altos Hills, CA, 1995), pp. 39-58; the answer to Gullick's question is 150 to 200 lines of text per day.

est details as speed approaches an efficient level. Rapid execution of the writing, however, is not merely a matter of the economy of production, but it is required if both the scribe and the scriptorium are going to establish a reputation as professionals (to use that term anachronistically) who deliver quality and do good work.[27] When I praised contemporary scribe, Cheryl Jacobsen, for her 'mastery' of the Exeter Book script, she quickly demurred. Imitating a hand is made difficult by giving a modern scribe no choices in the performance, she said. A working scribe who had truly mastered the hand could apply choices to her exemplar; indeed, we assume as much about the variable alteration of thorn and eth. This freedom to make such choices as one proceeds is a part of the rhythm of writing the hand, and its effect is nearly impossible to duplicate by a modern scribe recreating not the script as performance, but in forging a given instance of it. As a scribe herself with her own professional ideals and set upon the task of duplicating a hand, she is consciously aware of how close she has come to her goal.[28] The value of such sensitivity to one's own work is perhaps obvious in a capitalist age such as our own, but its value in the early Middle Ages would have been to certify special blessings (both religious and economic, as has already been observed) associated with a religious house's maintenance of such activities. I am always surprised by how many people do not really understand that beautiful writing requires confidence, control, and rhythm, all of which are associated with the production of music, which is the best analogue to writing we have in the present context, and that it is not too far-fetched to understand that the accomplishments of a scriptorium might be compared with the accomplishments of the choir. Without these attributes, the very authority of the text will be suspect, just as if the Psalms were being inexpertly sung in the Divine Office.

We can moreover document in a variety of ways that authors concerned themselves a great deal with the accurate transmission of their texts;[29] writing which is wanting in confidence, control, and speed looks like the work of an inexperienced scribe and it will necessarily call attention to issues about its accuracy.

[27] On the sociology of craftsmanship in the workplace relevant to this whole study, see R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008).

[28] Cheryl Jacobsen (Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of Iowa Center for the Book) in discussion with the author, September 2008.

[29] CLEMENTS and GRAHAM, *Introduction*, pp. 35-38, describe the techniques of manuscript correction.

Speed requires the scribe's hand and fingers to limit the space encompassed in the formation of a letter and thus enhances control where one is properly schooled in the letter form. This is analogous to reciting memorised texts, where the rhythm established by rapid recitation supports getting what has been memorised correctly articulated. Control has to do with the scribe's ability to write the letter according to the abstract or mental template he has mastered for it in spite of variables such as the viscosity of the ink, the surface of the membrane, and even a tremor or arthritic pain in one's hand.[30] Control is rather like the exact recall of song lyrics (and song lyrics have to be recalled exactly) if one imagines the melody of the song as the mental template the lyrics must accommodate. Certainly, control likely enhances the scribe's confidence, but confidence is its own entity in this process, defined not as a mental attitude but rather materially as the clear result of a defined process, which we should identify with the scribe's training. While today, one – myself included – finds slavish adherence to a teacher's critique stifling of creativity, the inculcation of acceptable scripts from the pens of confident scribes was but parallel to the activities already inculcated in choir, and that parallel is even more apt when one considers that chant during our period in England was primarily monophonic, a musical texture which seeks to match all voices to a single melodic expression.[31]

In the 'Applications' section of this essay, I shall discuss MS Dublin, Trinity College Library, A. I. (58), the famed Book of Kells, and Dorchester, Dorset History Centre, Anglo-Saxon charter 4, The Abbotsbury Guild Statutes, a little examined, single sheet diploma showing two very similar hands. Clearly this is a small and ultimately inadequate sample of the problem on which to base the kinds of generalisations I would offer in this paper. Yet, the problem is not unlike the one that faced Sigmund Freud, in that he had a very limited number of patients whose psyches he could plumb in order to posit a general theory of personality development for us all. His successes and his failures derived from his highly sensitive appreciation of the phenomenon he sought to explain and of an ability to see how the few fragments of information he could use as data might serve as a theoretical bridge until data requiring a more granular level of analysis were presented.[32] I, of course, am not Dr. Freud nor was

[30] E.g., C. FRANZEN, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991).

[31] Many thanks to Mary Ferer, Associate Professor of Music, West Virginia University, for insights into this analogy in a private communication dated September 2008.

[32] The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies is currently building *An Inventory of*

meant to be, but the psyches of scripts, like those of individuals, will require us to look at specific situations in every case where matched hands are adduced, and to execute a number of analytical operations in order to separate the number of scribes who worked. In most cases, the several axes of analysis described above should be considered when possible, but a given situation, such as the single sheet Abbotsbury guild statutes, may require a very limited approach to an analysis on this score, and thus offer certainty within a defined context, but uncertainty where the context is larger, as it is with a codex like the Book of Kells.

There are statistical techniques, however, designed to separate distributions of tokens (such as a script's small variation of letter forms or other traits) into groupings that include on the one hand random traits within the context of trained production and include on the other those that are significant markers of a scribe's activities. We must employ these to the best of our ability if we are going the discover more about the size and interests of a scriptorium and all that that implies, recognising that the nature of the evidence is grounded in a conscious desire by the persons who control the execution of the work to negate as much evidence as possible of scribal variety. It is equally important, however, to recognise that such methods of objectifying the data will provide but one measure of the scribes' achievement. A scriptorium is a community and matched hands are a measure of the degree to which the community has transmitted its shared practice to its members. To inventory the scribes' participating in a project is useful to answering modern questions about writing communities and the construction of certain codices, but it is in fact destructive of the very entity we find attractive: the uniform synthesis of design and execution.

Script and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English at http://www.arts. manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/. At this point in its development, there is a dearth of information useful to palaeographers seeking to discover matched hands; indeed, the available samples of work suggest that the techniques of comparison used to identify 'scriptors' (those scribes to whom several stints of work can be ascribed) are as likely to point to matched hands as to point to the same scribe. Nevertheless, the database may generate *comparanda* for use in these analyses in the future.

St. John's Bible

Much of what has gone before is theoretical. I offer here a materialist experiment to demonstrate one manner in which a purely rationalised (or 'scientific') approach to disambiguating scribes' hand may be undertaken. With the help of modern scribe Cheryl Jacobsen, Adjunct Assistant Professor in Calligraphy at the University of Iowa Center for the Book, I have been given the chance to learn some of the craftsperson's approaches to looking at the work of others, imitating it, and incorporating it. I shall report elsewhere on Professor Jacobsen's re-creation of the hand of MS Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, The Exeter Book, but will at this point turn to data derived, at her suggestion, from the St. John's Bible project.

As has been mentioned, the St. John's Bible project is a bid to write a complete text of the Bible by hand, with art work, special display scripts, and much else that has called for the assembly of a team of artists.[33] Just as every medieval manuscript ever made provided the creative matrix from which the next manuscript was derived without anyone's considering that the new book would have to reproduce an earlier exemplar in some narrow and predetermined way – that was a concept inculcated by the subsequent art of printing – so the St. John's Bible is conceived as a handwritten manuscript of the Bible, recognising a significant number of modern concepts in its creation, including *trompe l'œil* styled insects and plants on the pages' margins, a contemporary English text taken from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and decorative artwork, including gold-leaf illumination at book and chapter headings which reflect present-day tastes in illustration and design. Donald Jackson, the master scribe for the project and designer of the script devised for it, has trained a cadre of scribes to write out the Bible, and it is exceedingly difficult to see where one scribe begins a stint and the previous one ends his or hers.[34] Looking at this project, there can be little doubt that it is possible to create scribes who can produce nearly identical output. The scribal production itself will have to provide the key in the case of medieval manuscripts to allow palaeographers to disambiguate scribal hands, and such a key will most likely have to be quantitative in nature in order to convince people today who are becoming used to quantitatively expressed arguments in support of numerous activities in our daily lives.

[33] See *supra*, nn. 44-45.
[34] See *supra*, pp. 50-51.

At my request, the St. John's Bible project graciously sent me information about where scribal stints begin and end in parts of the Bible and which scribes were responsible for these. I examined Jackson's script and isolated several very small but mostly unambiguous traits which operated at the level of forming letters, and compiled data from the script to make sure that it would fall out in accordance with individual scribes.

scribes	**F**		**G**		**P**		
	serif	***no serif***	***tail wedge***	***no wedge***	***1 cross bowl***	***2 cross bowl***	***ascender***
Brian Simpson	119 (93%)	9 (7%)	88 (90%)	10 (10%)	17 (26%)	49 (74%)	0
Donald Jackson	222 (79%)	59 (21%)		97 (45%)	3 (2%)	123 (92%)	8 (6%)
Sally May Joseph	34 (92%)	3 (8%)	3 (7%)	43 (93%)	2 (8%)	17 (68%)	6 (24%)
Sue Hufton	180 (99%)	1 (1%)	108 (57%)	80 (43%)	34 (35%)	64 (65%)	0

Table 1: Data on Selected Scribes from St. John's Bible Project

What this shows us is that, where choices would seem to exist, different proportions of those choices make up a sort of fingerprint for each scribe. That gives us a basis for considering a calculus or statistics for matched hands in a general way. While I've only listed percentages here, the simplest kind of normalising statistic for an audience with no statistics background, we need in published presentation to work with Chi-square and Fisher exact tests, among other tests approved by statisticians for situations analogous to palaeographic ones in order to move toward a science of palaeography. Mabillon himself put history on a scientific foundation in formulating principles of diplomatic and palaeography, and had the science of statistics broadened toward considering all kinds of data sets before his death in 1707, which it did not do until the nineteenth century, whereas he may already have begun to codify these things.

The Book of Kells

A well-known example with which to begin studying the issues associated with isolating and identifying the hands which resist disambiguation simply by their appearance is the late eighth-century Book of Kells, (MS Dublin, Trinity College Library, A. I. (58)). This choice nods, of course, to the brilliant Insular scribal tradition in which the matching of hands was a significant part of the book's art, presumably not planned for isolation within the scriptorium or monastery, but to be appreciated much beyond that. The work in the Book of

Kells, the Lindisfarne Gospels, and related codices represents a high point in the whole technology of training scribes to write matched hands in Irish and English monasteries. The problem we confront in trying to distinguish hands in the Book of Kells is expressed in short by E.A. Lowe who, writing of the Book of Kells, said only, "written by several scribes", which was challenged by Julian Brown who wrote that the book was written by "one great scribe" who tailored his writing style to the content of the work with the most "exuberant" reserved for Gospel material.[35] Françoise Henry used more words, but also betrayed frustration similar to Lowe's. "It is certainly possible to distinguish at least three different hands, very close to each other and at times nearly merging into each other".[36] In the great 1990 facsimile of the Gospel book identified with Kells, Bernard Meehan found four hands, all with the similarities that Henry noted, and the same kinds of variations.[37] "There are no fundamentally different features, either in treatment of letters or in punctuation, simply a slightly different handling of the same type of writing", writes Henry.[38] In offering a revision of Henry's work, Meehan added:

> It seems hazardous to bring to a manuscript so full of caprice any sense of absolute certainty, since it is unusually difficult in the case of the Book of Kells to point to the kind of sustained and unequivocal distinctions in the formation and size of letters, or the spacing between letters or lines, or the format of the page, which in other manuscripts indicate unmistakably the work of different scribes. An additional difficulty is that hands do not customarily seem to change at the beginnings

[35] E.A. LOWE, *Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2 of his *Codices Latini antiquiores* (1935; corr. rpt. Oxford, 1972), p. 43; T.J. BROWN, "Northumbria and the Book of Kells", *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), pp. 219-46, at p. 230.

[36] F. HENRY, *The Book of Kells: Reproductions from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin* (New York, 1974), is credited with identifying three artists in the production, and this may have helped her solidify her notion that there were three scribes involved, but the relationship between scribes and manuscript artists in this early period is a vexed one and we cannot yet extrapolate information about one of these categories from the other. For a survey of the identity of artists in the Book of Kells, see B. MEEHAN, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (London, 1994), p. 78.

[37] See B. MEEHAN, *The Book of Kells: MS 58, Trinity College Dublin: Commentary*, ed. P. FOX (Luzern, 1990), pp. 245-256, for Meehan's first statement on the scribes of the Book of Kells. I shall cite his revised version of the foregoing essay in "The division of hands in the Book of Kells", in: *The Book of Kells; Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6-9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'MAHONY (Brookfield, VT, 1994), pp. 183-195; sample plates of the four scribes are accessible in MEEHAN, *The Book of Kells, An Illustrated Introduction,* pp. 78-82, Pls. 108-113.

[38] HENRY, *The Book of Kells*, p. 154.

> of new gatherings. As Henry remarked, different styles seem to merge into each other, making the division between scribes extraordinarily difficult to discern, and seeming to point to a high degree of skill on the part of the scribes in effecting as smooth a transition as possible.[39]

Henry's scribes are labelled Hand A, Hand B, and Hand C. Hand A is found on folios 1 through 19v, folios 276 through 289 and folios 293-311. Hand A for the most part uses the oak gall ink common throughout the West and eighteen or nineteen lines per page. Hand B is found on folios 19r through 26 and folios 124 through 128. Hand B has a somewhat greater tendency to use minuscule and uses red, purple, and black ink and a variable number of lines per page. Hand C is found throughout the majority of the text. Hand C also has greater tendency to use minuscule than Hand A. Hand C uses the same brownish gall ink used by hand A, and wrote, almost always, seventeen lines per page. Meehan necessarily complicates the scribal analysis both by adding a fourth, Hand D, and adjusting the limits of all four hands. He presents the following overview of the divisions of labour among them:

> In summary, Hand A appears to be the scribe who had some involvement in the canon tables, began the preliminaries, was responsible for St. John's gospel and began St. Mark's gospel. Scribe B completed the canon tables, the preliminaries, and St. Matthew's gospel, as well as supplying rubrics and other additions, possibly including major decorated pages, throughout the manuscript. Hands C and D are separate scribes, though in places it is difficult to distinguish the division between them. Hands C and D copied the bulk of Matthew, Mark and Luke. There is, however, little that is certain about the Book of Kells, and the following breakdown of hands in presented as a provisional one.[40]

Going a step further, Meehan suggested that one way of dealing with the problem of disambiguating the hands may be to look to the stable relationships between the work of the scribe and artist.[41] Erika Eisenlohr, however, has argued that a separation of scribes is likely to proceed more productively from a quantitative approach.[42] To this end she measured a sampling of letter forms

[39] MEEHAN, "The division of hands", pp. 185-186.

[40] MEEHAN, "The division of hands", p. 195. He provides a table in his study listing the folios of the manuscript assigning one of the four hands to them when possible and using a '?' to indicate uncertainty.

[41] MEEHAN, "The division of hands", p. 194.

[42] E. EISENLOHR, "The puzzle of the scribes: Some palaeographical observations", in: *The Book of Kells: Proceedings*, pp. 196-208.

throughout the manuscript for the proportions of ascender and descender lengths to minim height, using such information to help with the isolation of Hands A, C, and D. A separate observation on the kind of stroke used in the letter **o** allows for the isolation of Hand B. Other tendencies in the ligaturing of long-**s** with **t** and the joining of elongated **e** with the horizontal bars of **t** and **g** offer further clues as a basis for separating the hand.[43] Using these observations in the way I used my data from the St. John's Bible Project, Eisenlohr was able, in fact, to chart the whole collation of the Book of Kells, noting each page with the siglum of the scribe who wrote it, and assigning it more than one scribe if palaeographers have differed on the matter. If Eisenlohr proves to be right, then she is not only giving us information about the number of scribes in the Book of Kells, but she has created one way for us to imagine the workflow in the scriptorium. Although Meehan has given us a table of scribes and stints, he does not provide the quiring, so that the physical breaks in the manuscript can be matched to the scribal breaks, the first requirement of constructing what we may call a workflow narrative. I shall attempt a brief narrative of scribal workflow in the Book of Kells in order to suggest the value of the detailed materialist approach to matched hands.

Scribe A is so called because the hand so identified is first in the surviving codex, not because this was the hand of the major scribe in the work. Scribe A's hand appears on f. 1r, recording a glossary of Hebrew names at the end of a loss of about ten or more leaves. From f. 1v to f. 6r, the Eusebian canon tables are in fact drawn and filled in by Scribe B. Scribe A had resumed from the beginning of the volume to the beginning of the Gospel of Mark at f. 130v. (The recto is taken up with the initialisation of Mark, which probably was not by Scribe A, but the marriage of high design and unusual letter forms renders assignment of the page to a particular scribe difficult.) At the end of one gathering, Quire 16, Scribe A moved to the end of the Gospel codex, Quires 34-38, to copy the book of John.[44] The first leaf, f. 291, is a singleton, blank on its recto, and containing a portrait of the Evangelist on the verso; the spread was complemented on 292r, its facing page, by a stylised opening of this Gospel: "*In principio erat verbum*". The singleton, f. 291, was apparently prefaced to Quire 34 which was already a regular quinion (i.e., a set of five interfolded

[43] EISENLOHR, "The puzzle of the scribes", pp. 202-204.

[44] It is of course possible that Scribe A completed John's Gospel and came back to take up Mark afterwards, but I think it less likely than that coordination was required between Scribes C and D, and that led to the master's moving Scribe A to the last Gospel in order to divide Mark between Scribes C and D.

bifolia yielding ten leaves and twenty pages), just as is Quire 35. Quire 36 has twelve leaves, all in place. Quire 37 begins with three singletons, which may originally have been conjunct with three missing leaves preceding the final leaf of this quire, which would have made this a regular quinion, too, if what is now a final remaining leaf of Quire 37, i.e., f. 331, were in fact the first leaf of Quire 38, originally conjunct with the last of three missing leaves at the end of the book. Certainly, with a rationale to justify regularity to the gatherings and the assignment of one scribe to this section of the manuscript, we can say that the Book of John is a unit written by one scribe with no intervention noted by our palaeographers, and to it is prefaced the appropriate Evangelist portrait.

I shall pass by Scribe B, for the moment, because I believe that he was, in fact, the head scribe for the project, and that will be clearer after I define the stints of Scribes C and D.

Meehan indicates that Scribe C *may* have written the text for the Genealogy of Christ, ff. 29v to 31v. Folio 29r, the first page of the Genealogy or *Liber generationis*, may have been managed by Scribe B.[45] Henry, Meehan, and Eisenlohr are in general agreement, however, that Scribe C wrote as far as f. 87v, the end of the tenth quire of the codex, for a total of six gatherings in the Gospel according to Matthew. The same scribe then moved to Quire 17 of the Gospel book and copied two gatherings plus six more folios in the third gathering. Thence, to Quire 22 of the codex and the completion of the first six gatherings and one folio of the Gospel according to Luke, i.e., ff. 189r-242v. Scribe B inserted some short stints we shall discuss below.

In his work displayed in the Book of Kells, Scribe D follows Scribe C in writing the second half of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We could hardly expect to find better evidence that these two scribes are associated in the scriptorium. They both appear to work from copy which has been cast off by content – that is, each Gospel is treated as its own unit, not only by the addition of special first leaves and illustrations, but as writing units as well. The table below shows how the scribes' work is distributed:

Scribes	***Matthew***	***Mark***	***Luke***
C	6 quires	2 quires + 3 folios	6 quires +1 folio
D	4 quires + 1 page	3 quires + 5 folios	5 quires + quire of 5 ff.

Table 2: Distribution of the Work of Scribes C and D to Synoptic Gospels.

[45] MEEHAN, "The division of hands", p. 195; I can make no better suggestion for assigning f. 29r and ff. 29v-31v to Scribes B and C, respectively.

Only Scribe C writes stretches of text as long as six gatherings, and he does that twice. Scribe D follows Scribe C's work in Matthew with four gatherings of his own work, and prepares the final short gathering for the Gospel of Matthew in which he writes only the first page, f. 125r. While Scribe D was completing his work on Matthew, Scribe C had begun the Gospel of Mark on a new gathering following Scribe A's first gathering of that book, and Scribe C wrote about one half of the remaining text for a total of two quires plus three more folios (recto and verso) for a third gathering he would likely have pricked and ruled. This third gathering was a gathering of four, not five, bifolia. That Scribe C knew his work in Mark was coming to an end may well be why he chose to start a gathering shorter than the usual quinion, or he may even have made an error on a leaf and removed a full bifolium. While Scribe D completed Mark, Scribe C had begun Luke, and wrote six gatherings originally of different lengths: four comprised of five bifolia, one of two bifolia and two singletons; and one of three bifolia and one singleton. His short gatherings are in the middle of his work, not at its end, and may again indicate the scribe's desire to remove leaves he felt he had spoiled. Scribe D then takes over in Luke in a gathering presumably prepared by Scribe C, since his hand writes the recto of the first folio. The gathering is made up of six singletons arranged on either side of a bifolium, which suggests that Scribe C was using up the half sheets he had left on his desk in preparing his final quire for the codex. Scribes C and D only appear in the Book of Kells as a team, and neither of them appears to work outside clearly defined (and, I suspect, clearly assigned) units of labour.

I have called Scribe B the master of the scriptorium, because he is clearly associated with the project throughout, and his lack of appearance in John may mean simply that, having assigned Scribe A to that portion of the book, he only had to keep an eye on the production of John as this competent scribe handled its copying. Most telling in Scribe B's position in the scriptorium is that he made the canon tables with their elaborate column markers and headings, as well as the strong desire not to miscopy the Roman numerals used there, in spite of how easily numerals are miswritten. But Scribe B makes other appearances that suggest his authority in the production of this book. After Scribe A moves to Mark, the work on the preliminaries is taken over and finished by Scribe B, including a glossary of Hebrew names to Luke. By that point, Scribe C will have started Matthew, to be replaced in that Gospel by Scribe D when C moves to take over Mark from Scribe A who moves to John, which he finishes without further interruption. Once Scribe D starts the short gathering for

the last pages of Matthew, Scribe B finishes Matthew whilst Scribe D presumably takes up after Scribe C in Mark. Scribe B also takes over from Scribe C in Mark to write one spread, ff. 156v-157r. Such an act would have accommodated Scribe C in having to leave his desk, and I suspect that it would have fallen to the Master to see that the workflow did not wane; moreover, who else would have had the authority either to sit at the same desk to enter that spread or to remove the book and exemplar to his own writing station for the purpose of writing a spread. We next find Scribe B on the singleton which begins Quire 22 with the initialisation of Luke. It seems to me that Scribe B's work is clearly tied to special issues in production, from canon tables to keeping his eye on the production and its details.

From the distribution of the four hands in the Book of Kells, the workflow of the scriptorium can be suggested thus: Scribes A and B took on the preliminaries while Matthew's Gospel was divided between Scribes C and D. Scribe A finished and went to Mark; Scribe C finished his portion, and was told to start after Scribe A on Mark. Finishing his one gathering, Scribe A jumped to John and completed it alone. Scribe D took over from Scribe C midway through the remainder of Mark, and Scribe C then started the Gospel of Luke when he came back to the project. Where he ended his work at f. 243r, Scribe D took up the text on f. 243v and finished off the Gospel. Scribe B comes in and out of the work, as I have said, and may well have been the guiding authority behind its production.

Even though none of the palaeographers to study the problem has been willing to venture a more certain means of measuring averages, percentages, distributions and other statistical data which might be used to 'fingerprint' a scribe, as it were, to match Eisenlohr's study of the four scribes of the Book of Kells, her attempts to shed romantic terms like 'exuberance' and acknowledgment that "the problem of hand identification lies in the joint achievement of a harmony of scripts which negates individuality" also deserve our admiration.[46] The issue remains, of course, concerning the relationship between the scribes of the Book of Kells and its artists, but if a means for sorting out scribal hands could be developed and tested, then one suspects that the ways in which similar artistic styles are distributed with regard to a register of the scribes' divisions of labour would make obvious which styles are inseparable from which artist's hand where stylistically unrelated images are scattered amongst several scribes' work. Indeed, these relationships may well be structured as

[46] EISENLOHR, "The puzzle of the scribes", p. 208.

they are in books that do not employ matched hands. In any case, further study of scribal hands in the Book of Kells may suggest the value of materialist, data- and practice-driven approaches to breaking up the 'harmony of scripts' that guards some of the secrets of the book's creation.

Abbotsbury Guild Statutes

Two similar hands also appear to be at work on a single sheet diploma, the Guild Statutes for the Abbotsbury Parish Guild, written long after the Book of Kells in the mid-eleventh century – *c.* 1050 according to Dorothy Whitelock, and certainly not later than 1058, the date of the death of Orc, whose gift of the guildstead and role as founder of the guild in question are recorded in the document.[47] This single sheet writ represents a particularly interesting application of matched hands because it is unusual to find two scribes participating in writing the main body of a charter of any species, whether diploma, writ, or memorandum.[48] In fact, the similarities of the two hands of the Abbotsbury Guild Statutes demonstrate an interesting comparison with the Book of Kells. They do not evince matching with the older manuscript, of course, but both scribes in the Abbotsbury writ adhere to an upright, squared mode of script with line spacing and word group intervals harmonising in the same way. Of course the ascenders and descenders in the Old English text lessen the clean look of the Latin lines that Kells can maintain, but even that is not as intrusive as we might imagine. It is as if the Insular scripts, from their most inspired forms to their most workaday applications, were understood to belong to an established tradition of very slowly changing standards.[49]

[47] *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, 1, ed. D. WHITELOCK, M. BRETT, and C.N.L. BROOKE (Oxford, 1981), p. 517, No. 67; S. Keynes, "The lost cartulary of Abbotsbury", *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989), pp. 207-243, at p. 208.

[48] See [S. KEYNES], "Annex 3: Note on terminology", part of: "Guidelines for Editors", *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1997-), at http://www.trin. cam.ac.uk/chartwww/Guidelines/guidea3.htm which notes that 'charter' may be used in a general sense to cover "diploma, writ, lease, will, chirograph, and (Latin or vernacular) record or memorandum", but since three of the five guild statutes are added in blank spaces to Gospel books and a fourth has left its traces in a portion of the Anglo-Saxon laws of King Æthelstan, it may be best to categorise them as a group by the term 'writs'.

[49] J. BROWN, "The oldest Irish manuscripts and their late antique background", in: *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter,* ed. P. NÍ CHATÁIN and M. RICHTER (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 311-327, at p. 321, gestures toward this development, although his conclusions about the earliest evolution of the script is doubted by W. O'SULLIVAN, "The palaeographical back-

Nevertheless, it seems a surprising development to find matched hands in a single sheet document. The writ may have been drawn up near Abbotsbury at Cernel, now Cerne Abbas, which was the location of Ælfric's monastery; if any late scriptorium other than Canterbury's would have been well stocked with the best scribes, it would have been Cernel. On the other hand, we may be observing a phenomenon here that we have not carefully considered: even so small a house as Abbotsbury was, that could support as few as two scribes, could support scribes with matched hands. Whether this be the case depends upon the value placed on having a carefully structured communal scriptorium, as Donald Jackson's work with the St. John's Bible reminds us, rather than on the assumption that matched hands must accompany an institution rich in resources. Were this a high status book requiring expensive pigments and professionally prepared membrane, then we would be justified in seeking a wealthy scriptorium, but it is important to remember that matched hands alone do not require more than the desire of the scribes themselves to create such hands and the time to master the standard.

The possibility of the document's having been written at Abbotsbury, then, leads me to a more careful analysis of the Abbotsbury Guild statutes than has heretofore been made of the document.[50] The diploma, written by two closely matched (but not perfectly matched) scribes, employs a late Insular minuscule. The second hand begins somewhere in the hole created by a degraded crease to the right of the centre axis of the document, and nothing in the text at this point suggests a natural place for one scribe to discontinue and the next to begin. Most observers of late Anglo-Saxon hands will not find it difficult to see the slight differences in these hands, but it is useful in the present context to catalogue the ways we can disambiguate these hands on a number of points because these are useful in handling the analyses of more closely matched hands like those in the Book of Kells and the Exeter Book.

Perhaps the first difference to note is the slight gradation in the intensity of the ink, but this in itself of course does not constitute a reason to assume a second scribe is being employed rather than a second stint of writing. Nevertheless, a change in ink can help indicate a change in scribe. In this case, the

ground to the Book of Kells", in: *The Book of Kells: Proceedings*, pp. 175-182, at p. 178.

[50] See P.W. CONNER, "Four contiguous poems in the Exeter Book: A combined reading of 'Homiletic Fragment III', 'Soul and Body II', 'Deor', and 'Wulf and Eadwacer'", in: *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A.N. Doane*, ed. M.T. HUSSEY and J.D. NILES (Turnhout, 2012: *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 9), pp. 172-199, at pp. 186-189.

scribe of the upper text employs a darker ink. Because fresh iron gall ink is black and oxidises later to the browns associated with it, we may assume that the pristine Abottsbury writ betrayed little if any variation in the inks originally. Thus, under those conditions, it would be more difficult to disambiguate the hands, but the variations that come with time result from different concentrations of iron and tannin in the ink; that, in turn, suggests two pots of ink, and that suggests two writing desks assigned to two scribes. It may also be worth noting that the second hand is a bit more regular in the spacing of letters and words and bespeaks a more consistent rhythm in writing, which might suggest a somewhat more highly trained scribe who would use a bit more water in his ink to achieve a viscosity most supportive of his rhythm of writing. Because the colour of the ink came from chemical reactions in the ink, it is likely that both hands evinced a similar black or dark brown colour at the time of writing, and that one is slightly more diluted became apparent only after a long survival of this somewhat unstable ink.[51] A change of ink in itself will not guarantee that there was a change of scribes, because it is always possible that a new pot of ink was drawn upon after some arbitrary point in the process.

A major indication that we are clearly dealing with two hands is the slight change in scale, by which I mean the use of space on the vertical axis relative to the horizontal axis; the way in which a scribe apportions his or her forward movement relative to the height of the line of minims and the extremes between ascenders and descenders depends upon the speed he / she can use with the pen and the confidence he / she has in writing the hand in question. Both of these scribes are clearly confident and efficient in equal measure. Three dimensions of scale, however, permit us to separate the hands; these are line compression, letter compression, and his or her encompassment of space.

The scribes do not match their line compression. The lower hand inscribes a decidedly taller hand. The best quick measure of this is to be found in the way that the descenders of an upper line intersect with the ascenders of the lower line; such slight overlap or intersection does not occur with the top hand in the diploma, in spite of both hands having been written on a single grid of pricks and rulings.

Most noticeable to most eyes, however, may be the difference in letter compression between the work of the top and bottom scribes. If we place a six-inch rule in the middle of lines four and five, we shall see that the scribe wrote

[51] C. KARNES, "How to make ink", at: *The Ink Corrosion Website* (Amsterdam: European Commission of Preservation and Access), http://ink-corrosion.org/make-ink.

71 and 68 letters on that segment of the lines respectively. Lines eighteen and nineteen, within the second scribe's stint, cover 65 and 66 letters respectively in the same sized segment. The top hand of the Guild statutes regularly comes to more letters than the bottom.[52] The average difference of about four letters per six-inch segment represents the amount of space the tighter hand saves through compression and indicates a significant difference that differentiates both scribes.

While one can consider the encompassment of space to be relative to line and letter compression, there is in fact another dimension involved: 'mode'. For example, a letter that is inscribed into a rectangle (e.g., **r** or **h**) may, in different hands, occupy rectangles of different proportions; indeed, the letter **d** can be square in mode and other times rectangular. While these two hands tend to occupy the same mode, however, the lower hand uses letters showing more space by being slightly larger and employing a smaller nib on the pen, while the upper hand uses a blunter, thicker nib and smaller overall dimensions.

Two letter forms show a distinction worth noting between the two hands. Ordinarily, in consciously matched hands, one would expect to find no significant divergences in letter forms; after all, teaching the inventory of letter forms pertinent to a given script is the first step in teaching the script. Nevertheless, one can still find small idiosyncrasies which do not affect the overall aspect of the hand, and which therefore flourish – albeit surreptitiously – to enable identification of the scribe. In my own work, I have frequently noticed that habits of ligature vary quite clearly among scribes. While they are taught how to connect long-**s** with **t**, **p**, and **wynn**, for example, how often they do so, and whether they do so with every possible combination varies. If we compare the two hands of Abbotsbury's writ on the basis of how the high-**e** (somewhat like **ε**, but with the tongue as high as the top line of the script, so that it can join with letters like **t** or **p** with onsets lying at that level) ligatures with other letters, we can chart it thus:

[52] The spaces are counted as letters, their absolute differences in size being ignored, as I have done in counting the letters themselves. It is assumed that a statistical mix of letters and spaces is endemic in the language and all will participate in the same way in any given hand.

	Upper Text		Lower Text	
	Ligatured	Not Ligatured	Ligatured	Not Ligatured
ea	4	1	2	3
eg/æg	4	4	0	5
em	1	1	0	5
en/æn	16	4	4	5
er/ær	16	0	10	7
es/æs	19	2	6	1
et/æt	10	2	6	1
TOTALS	70	14	25	23
% by text	83.33%	16.67%	52.1%	47.9%

Table 3: Ligatures with E or Æ in the Abbotsbury Guild Statutes

e is liguratured with the following letter, whether as a simplex or in combination with a preceding **a** to form **æ**, a significant number of times in both the upper and the lower texts of the Abbotsbury charter. A different pattern of distributing ligatures is observed in each text. The variability between the two texts of occurrences of any combination, whether ligatured or not, is probably due to the brief nature of these texts; in chunks of a longer text, one would expect the number of words spelled with en/æn, for example, to be consistent. To my eye, the difference in ligaturing, however, is not what affects the slight difference in the aspect of the two hands, but the difference in ligaturing requires an explanation, and that explanation, given the other attributes of the work of these two scribes, lies in the recognition of the presence of two scribes.

*Ascender of **d***

The burr or stem on **d** has a subtle but clear difference between the performances of the upper and lower scribes. In the uppermost hand of the document, the letter is almost completely round, as it often is in late examples of this derivative of Square minuscule, and its stem is very short indeed. Indeed, it is

little more than the onset mark of the first stroke of the letter. The **d** used by the lower scribe has more stem, and that stem often (but not always) shows a join to the body of the letter; moreover, it usually points at a 45º angle above the top line of the minims, a trait which the top hand does not display. These differences are very small visually, but they do represent two different habits in forming the letter, and thus indicate two hands which are visually close, but which spring from small but different practices of penmanship.

Now, if these differences were of a profound nature rather than of the ostensibly minor role they play in the script design, it would be easy to differentiate the hands, and it would also be impossible to call them matched hands. But in this case, the document's two component hands are clearly of a very similar design, and the use of two hands so clearly similar must have been intentional in this document that authorised Orc's parish guild and the guildstead in perpetuity. It is a nice problem to try to imagine why one hand could not have been responsible for the whole work and two scribes were set to its creation. Possibly, there was an immediate demand for the document, and thus two scribes in succession sped up the production; but possibly – and I prefer this explanation – there was the sense that the document needed to look its best. It is not unreasonable to think that two well-matched hands, each using freshly cut pens, would put the best face (no pun intended) on the Guild statutes, which was clearly an important document as is indicated by its format as a single sheet diploma. The small gradation in ink that we can now see may not have been (and probably was not) visible nearly 1000 years ago, so that the overall uniformity of the piece would have been apparent. But the use of matched hands – and at this point this is speculative – for a document with no witnesses might still tell against forgers or counterfeiters as long as a scribe or other craftsman from the same scriptorium might vow that he could see in the matched hands the work of his own scriptorium, and bring forth other examples of it, if necessary. Whereas a single scribe might be hired out or nefariously lured to make a counterfeit cancel of a legitimate charter, it would be more difficult to secure the work of a pair of scribes, both of whom could write very nearly the same hand. Orc and his wife, Tola, appear to have gone to some pains to register their gifts to the monastery they founded and to their guild, including securing the written blessings of King Edward himself on their charities;[53] if multiple hands were ever used for purposes of security, this is the context in which we might expect to find them.

[53] See *supra*, n. 47.

Epilogue

Can we say now that we know more about the nature of matched scribal hands than when we began this investigation? I think that a few things are clearer. Matched scribal hands offer a bridge between the substances that comprise writing – membrane, ink, and model scripts and scribes – and processes that seem quite airy – monastic harmony, the sense of performing for a divine audience, and aspirations of perfection. These are connected in the sociological theories I have suggested, such as the concepts of *habitus*, 'communities of practice', and 'interaction ritual chains'; such theories ground the job of matching scribal hand in the material, allowing us a special window into medieval writing through the practices in evidence where hands are matched.

The business of disambiguating matched hands is complex. Traces of difference between or among them may in fact suggest variation in stints over time by the same scribe, but it is just as likely that such traces may also indicate changes in scribal hands if the codicology of the book does not contradict it. What I have proposed here, I believe, is a more strongly integrated relationship between codicology and palaeography than we scholars of manuscript books have been used to entertaining. Our training as palaeographers needs to embrace projects like the St. John's Bible project.[54] Moreover, traces of minute differences in hands have to be quantified in a way that does indeed substantiate the claims made for them. The major problem with Eisenlohr's meticulous analysis of the hands in the Book of Kells is that her data is derived ultimately from an attempt to identify visually details which her computer might now be able to analyse better. We can learn scribes' methods from living scribes and the sociology of scribes from sociological and cultural studies of groups and their behaviours, but some data will yield best to the multidimensional collations computers can provide, and we should seek that as well. Human brains not only search for patterns, but convince themselves that they have found them. This all too human problem makes it difficult both to measure the length of the descender or ascender of a letter and to decide whether variations in that detail of a hand might or might not freely vary among scribes.[55] Such measure-

[54] See the facsimile edition of *The St. John's Bible*, 7 vols. (Collegeville, MN, 2005); the best study of the making of this Bible is CALDERHEAD, *Illuminating the Word*. I am also aware that GULLICK, "How fast did scribes write?", p. 54, indicates his debt at the end of that article to his conversations with Donald Jackson, the master scribe of the St. John's Bible.

[55] EISENLOHR, "The puzzle of the scribes", p. 203; see also AUSSEMS and BRINK, "Digital palaeography", pp. 297-298.

ments would be facilitated, however, with the use of more advanced digital methods than were available to Eisenlohr in 1994. The details of disambiguating the same four hands in the Book of Kells by means of details that show the scribe's special comprehension of a letter form or of the way in which it occupies space on the line, as is the case in Abbotsbury Guild writ, speak to a kind of slippage between matching hands accompanied by reasonable variation. We need to be as sensitive to these most minor variations as Jean Mabillon – the founder of the study of palaeography – was to abbreviations for the names of God.

Finally, the successful detection of matched hands brings forth the certain presence of the expense of a communal effort on behalf of a text, and however such an effort may be seen to comment on the text, its existence is of paramount importance in understanding the cultural and social histories of the Middle Ages.

A Modern Scribe Views Scribes of the Past

CHERYL JACOBSEN

At the request of Patrick Conner, Eberly College Centennial Professor in the Humanities, West Virginia University, I attempted to reproduce a page from MS Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501 (The Exeter Book). Pat, whose work on matched scribal hands was inspired by the question of the number of scribes in the Exeter Book, wanted to see how closely I could come to reproducing what that scribe or scribes had done in hopes of gaining insight on what distinguishes one scribe's hand from another. This was an excellent chance to try to understand how the scribe or scribes of the Exeter Book worked from the distinctive perspective of a contemporary scribe.

The project of copying a page from a book, simple as it may seem, brought up many questions. There are the obvious ones of tools and materials and the structural creation of each letter. The page was my instructor in doing the copying, but left me with many questions unanswered. What defines a competent hand? Is it different now? To help Pat in trying to identify different scribes, I needed to know why the scribe did what he or she did and I brought a distinctive perspective to addressing the question. Obviously my job as a scribe is quite different from that of the scribe or scribes of the Exeter Book, but I found that there are valuable lessons to be gained in looking at how a working scribe today can help in looking at the writing of scribes of the past.

A Contemporary Scribe

I am a working contemporary scribe. I could also be called a lettering artist, but neither of these are terms one might automatically associate with what I do. 'Calligrapher' is the more common name, but I have a problem with this term, since etymologically it suggests one who writes beautifully or elegantly.[1] While convenient, the term conjures up a person with an old pen addressing wedding invitations, which trivialises what our profession really entails or is capable of. Our writing is not always beautiful, and our interests go beyond simply making beautiful things. Many have therefore switched to the term 'lettering artist'. *Calligraphy Review*, the most important journal in the field, changed its name to *Letter Arts Review* in 1994 to better reach out to its diverse audience. I could use either of the terms 'contemporary scribe' or 'lettering artist' to better capture what I do. What does it mean to be a contemporary scribe? Seemingly anachronistic, often trivialised, the modern scribe creates letters by hand, usually working with a broad-edged or pointed pen.

Not all contemporary scribes are alike, even if we share a passion for making and learning about letters. The majority of scribes writing today can be classified as hobbyists. Many of these people are extremely good at writing. They have many of the same interests as professional scribes do, focusing on the historical aspects of writing, the contemporary development, or both. Yet, while they may make some money, they usually do not feel the pressure of making a living through their craft, but rather work for knowledge and fulfilment and enjoyment.

A smaller percentage of this already small segment of the population actually makes a modest living making letters. The scope of the professional scribe's work is quite large and for any one person the work can fall into any or all of the following categories:

- Many scribes could be considered labourers doing large amounts of writing for clients in prescribed amounts of time, aiming for accuracy, beauty, and legibility. These scribes are addressing envelopes, filling in certificates, writing name tags, writing in books or copying out books, creating plaques to honour people or groups of people, writing out poetry or pithy sayings or declarations. Depending on the

[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, definition 1: "One who writes beautifully"; definition 2: "One who professes the art of elegant penmanship"; etymology: Gr *kalligraphia* < *kalligraphos* < *kallos*, beauty + *grafos*, writing / writer.

scribes' other talents they may also be involved in design, creation, or decoration of these works as well.

- Other scribes are more focused on designing small groups of words or individual letters. These people are involved in logo design and identity systems, monograms, engraving, titling, and typography.
- Then there are teachers, teaching various hands, techniques and history.

Where scribes are located affects how easily they can make a living and what they can work on, although this is changing with the ease of working via computer. Those working in rural areas have a limited customer base due to low population and usually are limited to the basics of special occasion work for individuals, i.e. weddings, baby announcements, etc. It is often difficult to find enough work or to charge enough to make a living in these areas. Those working in cosmopolitan areas have an advantage of a much larger customer base, the ability to charge higher prices for their work, and more opportunities to expand their offering to larger, more moneyed businesses and institutions. University towns and cities offer potential interactions with people involved in art and art history, palaeography, semiotics, medieval studies, book arts, and typography. This kind of interaction helps to broaden the scope of letter making and to discover how many other disciplines it intersects with.

I am a contemporary scribe in a special place. I am able both to incorporate the study of historical hands and to have a very diverse freelance and artistic life. My freelance work consists of lettering, design, and illustration. A survey of the types of jobs I might be doing at any one time would include invitation design, certificate design and fill-ins, writing on walls in public places, one-of-a-kind documents of poetry or prose, cards and books, envelope addressing, titling, books, logo design, writing on any sort of object (which can be challenging), tattoo lettering, signage, posters, and reproductions of old documents. As in any service job, I need to focus on quality and efficiency. It helps me to be something of a jack of all trades and to maintain a constant flow of work. As an artist I also draw inspiration from scribal processes of the past.

I teach at the University of Iowa's Center for the Book classes offering instruction in both contemporary and historical hands, connecting the act of writing, past and present, to the other disciplines of the book. My students range from engineering, nursing, and business students looking to take a class that uses a different part of their brain and gives them a break from their more serious classes (most of these students find that it's a little more than they bargained for) to art students (who do not necessarily have an advantage over

the non-art students since they sometimes come with confidence in their expression but lacking discipline in creating letter forms). I now get students from Medieval Studies with their scholarly view of manuscripts and letters, and I also get specialist students from the Center for the Book's graduate programme. These students usually come to the class with an interest in the book either through scholarly and literary research, or through one of the other book arts, i.e. printmaking, typography, or book binding.

I teach classes in several contemporary hands. In Foundational Hands, students learn Roman majuscule, Humanistic minuscule, and Italic, three foundational calligraphic hands that are the basis for our standard modern typefaces. In Blackletter Hands, students become proficient in various hands from the heavily vertical Textura to the floridly expressive Gothic cursive, and become aware of the distinctive connotations these unique letter forms carry. In Script Hands, students learn how to use a pointed pen. After a semester with any of these classes students are ready to develop their skills further in an advanced class which is focused on larger projects and exploring the different ways contemporary scribes are using letters in art.

In each of these courses, I directly teach students how to write a particular hand, focusing on the quality of those letters. History of Western Letterforms (or HoWL as it has become known) is a bit different. In this class I focus on teaching a systematic process of seeing and analysing historic hands from reproductions of actual manuscripts. We cover the major hands from around 100 AD to the Renaissance. Instead of showing students how to make the letters, I help them see how they can teach themselves to recreate these hands using the evidence left in the writing of a past scribe. I hesitated to attempt this course since survey classes in lettering do not usually accomplish much, and we need to cover a new hand almost every week for 16 weeks. But I have found that, while it would take students too long to perfect these particular hands and use them to write their own texts, their capacity to really understand how a scribe worked, learning to reproduce the exact letters on the page, is highly valuable especially to people who work with manuscripts on a regular basis and need to transcribe and translate documents. Through this course, they develop the gift of seeing what is in front of them.

Learning to Write

Very few contemporary scribes have the luxury of learning their craft in any long-term or systematic way. Apprenticeships are rare and few universities offer even basic courses, let alone more in-depth ones. Most classes available to the student of letter arts are offered sporadically as a day, a weekend, or (rarely) a week long class. This haphazard method of study gives a student exposure to many different instructors and many different hands or topics, but long-term study, which involves practice on a regular basis and the input of an instructor over time, is hard to come by. I am lucky in that I am one of the few instructors who get to teach at the university level, with basic and more advanced classes, as well as the opportunity to develop a larger programme.

Training students to write with a broad-edged pen involves helping them to develop careful skills of observation and to work at a slow pace, which is often beyond their comprehension at first. This method of working slowly becomes more and more challenging for a teacher to impart as the pace of general communication speeds up. I have found it immensely helpful to teach in a university setting where serious prices for classes and serious concern for grades help keep up the motivation level (at least for some students). The practice needed to get to the most basic level of competence is hard to coax out of all but the most motivated students; getting beyond the difficult basics and moving on to truly competent soulful writing takes an immense amount of time.

All the little details are important. Even though it is hard to work on them all at once and can get very frustrating, the challenge is balanced by the fact that using a broad-edged pen instantly changes a person's writing, providing instant gratification that can go a long way. Even as the students' own critical eye develops and they can pick out their own mistakes, their friends and family are often amazed at what they are doing and offer praise and support for their efforts. Most people have no idea of how labour-intensive or how satisfying and contemplative lettering is. A semester length class is usually just enough to get people comfortable with the basics and ready to really develop good writing.

The hands I have learned and developed and now teach are based for the most part on historical forms, although many are now far from their mother hand. Some of these hands I have learned from another instructor and some from looking at historical forms. When you attempt to develop a usable modern

hand from looking at an original manuscript, you are learning from a document not usually intended to be a teaching tool. You must pick and choose which details are important to keep the overall feel of the hand and leave out what seems to be not relevant for contemporary requirements. It simplifies the process quite a bit to learn a hand from an instructor who has already made these decisions of what is or is not needed to write in a particular style, but there is a danger in students assuming there is a one correct way to write a particular style, when you can not only write a hand from a single manuscript in several ways, you also have many, many manuscripts in any particular style to choose from that could easily alter what actually comes to be the final product. As an instructor you are simplifying and stereotyping a hand for your students to easily take in. I think it is very important for them to realise that, while there are always issues of quality, there is no one way to write any particular style.

There is 'good quality writing' and 'bad quality writing' both now and in the past. Some of the qualities that help us judge art can help us determine the quality of letters as well, such as rhythm, consistency, and texture. Most important is the naturalness that results from the unconscious ease that comes only after much practice. That ease is linked to the idea of working to a point of boredom when your conscious mind stops and the unconscious internalises the movements. It is easy for a diligent student to get so caught up in the rules and consistency needed for learning a letter that they do not take the next step of incorporating those skills into the freedom of writing that really marks mastery.

Ray DaBoll, a famous man of letters, said, "Calligraphy is the essence of disciplined Freedom".[2] In a world where our exposure to letters tends to be through type, we can incorrectly idealise typographic perfection when that is exactly the opposite of what lettering / writing / calligraphy is. How many times has a modern scribe heard the comment, "wow, your writing is so good it looks like a computer did it!"? This is always meant as a compliment but can feel a bit demeaning to the writer as it misses the whole point of the human craft embodied in the hand of the writer.

At one stage, I had to consciously break out of that desire for perfection when I was doing all the right things but my letters were not as good as I wanted them to be. It was a difficult task, but was made easier by working under financial pressure, which imposes time pressure, and the letters improved for that. It helps when you cannot afford the luxury of being perfect all the time.

[2] R.F. DaBoll, broadside *Disciplined Freedom: A Specimen Sheet of Calligraphy* (Bangor, 1948).

Only then do things attain the comfortable, natural beauty that we aim for. Like any sort of proficient artist or musician, the work done looks and sounds effortless when the artist is working at her best – even though we know that only comes as the result of huge effort over time.

I love my job and I am continually looking for ways to expand my knowledge of both the artistic and especially the historical aspects, which made the opportunity to participate in the Obermann Seminar on Extreme Materiality extra appealing to me.

Materiality

The seminar at which I met Pat and the other scholars and book artists was called Medieval Manuscript Studies and Contemporary Book Arts: Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Books, suggesting an emphasis on the materiality of books, looking at the stuff and processes of making a book, and treating them not just as receptacles for the ideas they hold but as treasure troves of information in themselves. There seems to be more materiality slowly showing up in the literature surrounding the book, addressing such questions as how they were organised and bound, how vellum was scraped and with which tool, what kind of animal the hide was from, what tree gall was used for making ink, even which bird feather was used to fit the scribe's hand well.

As far as writing is concerned, we know that a quill was used and that the light was low except on sunny days, but usually that is where our knowledge stops. What about *how* the letters themselves were made? How the pen moved on the writing surface to achieve the shapes we look at? Palaeographers have for a long time studied the letters as given objects to be identified and classified and to assist in transcription and translation, but for some reason how it was done got overlooked or even (dare I say?) snubbed. Why aren't pen angle, pen width, or letter weight, common terms in manuscript study? Using these terms in conjunction with an effective and clear analysis would give scholars an excellent understanding of the character and process of a particular letter form.

Analysing Historical Hands

Stan Knight, *Historical Scripts from Classical Times to the Renaissance*, is an extremely useful guide to understanding historical hands.[3] The students in my History of Western Letterforms class learn from this to look closely at writing and use a seven-step analysis developed by Edward Johnston to determine how a scribe would have written it. Knight presents the reader with a selection of manuscripts highlighting the most notable examples of the major book hands from classical Rome to the Renaissance. For each hand, he presents a photo of a full manuscript page, a small fragment at actual size, and then an enlargement to really show the details. He also comments on the basic facts of the manuscript and any unique features of the writing itself.

The distinctive approach of this book for analysing script is described well in the foreword by Ewan Clayton, Professor of Design at the University of Sunderland, scribe, former Benedictine monk, and consultant at Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center in new technology and quality of life issues:

> From its first appearance *Historical Scripts* has appealed to a number of different communities. It is a book for the historian, the palaeographer, the calligrapher, the typographer and anyone with an interest in western lettering and documents. ... Originally, this book was one of the fruits of a partnership formed with the calligraphic community by the late Julian Brown, Professor of Palaeography at King's College, London. Generously he opened his tutorials and lectures to a number of interested scribes. ... He valued his associations with calligraphers because we gave him another way of seeing things. It is this way of seeing things, the maker's way, which Stan Knight's book presents.

The maker's way has proven to provide valuable insight for anyone who wants deeper insight into a script. And for understanding historical scripts it is crucial to understand a broad-edged pen.

Edward Johnston (1872-1944), a British calligrapher, teacher, and type designer, is credited with reviving the use of the broad-edged pen amid the study of historical letter forms at the turn of the twentieth century. He established a method of studying, understanding and recreating historic letter forms, which involves a fairly simple, systematic analysis which looks at the following elements: the weight of the letter, the pen angle used, the general shape of

[3] S. KNIGHT, *Historical Scripts from Classical Times to the Renaissance* (New Castle, DE, 1998).

the letter, the ductus, and the speed of the writing. Even these basic principles of looking at the actual act of writing are surprisingly absent from the discourse of palaeographers. How the pen was held in relation to the base line, the ratio of pen width to letter height, shape, and stroke order seem essential to really understanding the marks on the page and the essential character of any formal script.

The Broad-Edged Pen / Pen Width

Most formal writing until the 1800s was written with a broad-edged pen, a square tipped writing implement which creates a consistent set of thick and thin marks when the pen is held at a particular angle to the writing line. This was gradually replaced by a thinner broad edge for casual cursive writing and then by pointed pens. The width of the nib of a broad-edged pen can be determined by measuring the actual end of the pen, but can also be seen in the writing itself at the ends of strokes and in the thickest part of a curved letter. One needs to be aware that not all thick strokes will give a clue as to the thickness of the pen as extra pressure on the quill, which is easily applied, will yield an extra wide mark.

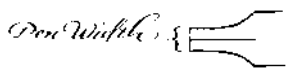


Fig. 1: Pen width / broad-edged pen (drawn by author).

Seven Step Analysis

Knowing the width of the scribe's nib allows you to determine the first step.

1.The *weight of letter form* is determined by finding the ratio of the width of the scribe's pen to the height (or x-height) of the letter.

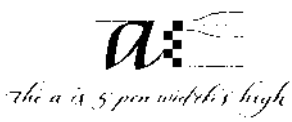


Fig. 2: Calculating letter weight (drawn by author).

With the pen held at a 90 degree angle, the width of the nib can be stacked to the top of the letter to determine the weight of the letter.

2. *Pen angle*. As important to the writing as pen width is the pen angle. Although there are many angles to consider when writing, the most important one when analysing a hand is the one called ‘pen angle’, the relationship of the broad-edged pen to the writing line.

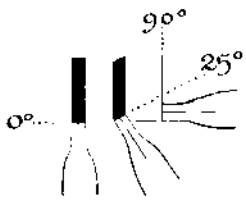


Fig. 3: Pen angle (drawn by author).

With pen in hand the pen angle is seen where the edge of the pen meets the writing line, but the angle can be seen after the fact by looking at the clear ends of strokes and axis of circles.

The angle that the edge of the pen creates in relation to the writing line is responsible for the thickness of the downstrokes or minims, and correspondingly the overall ‘colour’ or shading of the page. In most formal writing the pen angle remains fairly consistent, but some, especially later Rustics and uncials employ many changes of angle to create their forms.

3. *Geometric shape* of letter (e.g. round, rectangular). Many hands, especially book hands have a parent shape which unifies the letters. Uncial is round, while Carolingian varies with its time period from squat oval shape to round to upright oval. Textura is a rectangle, humanistic cursive a parallelogram. This is not a hard and fast categorisation as exceptions abound, but it is very helpful in most cases. The easiest letters to look at in determining basic shape are **o** and **n**.

The next three steps comprise the ductus, a term shared by scribes and palaeographers.

4. *Number of strokes*.
5. *Order of strokes*.
6. *Direction of strokes*.

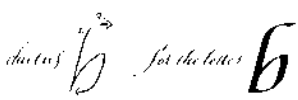


Fig. 4: Ductus (drawn by author).

The ductus is usually represented by a small diagram.

Arriving at the ductus by necessity is a series of educated guesses. It takes some experience working with a broad-edged pen to know how it best likes to

move. Unlike pencils and ballpoint pens which can move easily in any direction, the broad-edged pen works best in most cases by pulling.

For understanding the significance of ductus, it is useful to consider the case of Father Edward Catich (1906-1979), a Chicago sign painter, author, stone cutter, calligrapher, liturgical artist, historian, and lecturer, who changed the understanding of the construction of roman lapidary script by recognising artifacts of a sign painter's flat edged brush in what was previously thought to be a letter influenced solely by the chisel. This discovery totally changed how we understand the creation of the incised Roman capital letters. His ductus for a Capital A goes against the ordinary person's idea of how that A would be constructed.

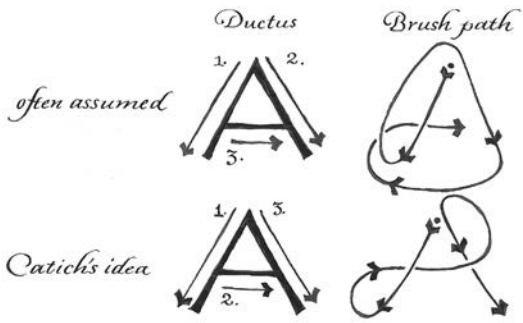


Fig. 5: Catich's A ductus results in a shorter brush path saving time for the sign painter (drawn by author).

He based his theory on the fact that sign painters work for accuracy and speed, and it would save time (and did when he was working) to make the A in the way his ductus shows.[4]

7. *Speed* is noted by slant, ligatures, and experience. If you have tried several different hands, it becomes quickly evident that some are just slower to write than others. Speed can be seen in the traces of a stroke. As a writer speeds up, down strokes tend to slant, there are fewer actual horizontal or vertical lines, letters connect with each other, and legibility becomes more difficult.

Applying the Analysis

This analysis works best for formal book hands. It gets a little trickier to use it on more cursive hands. In book hands, much like typography, the letters have been stereotyped and perfected to mute personal quirks and idiosyncrasies for the purpose of legi-

[4] See E.M. CATICH, *The Origin of the Serif: Brush Writing and Roman Letters* (Davenport, IA, 1968).

bility and consistency. These hands are slower to write. An informal or cursive hand is written faster, with much less uniformity, but more personality. It is harder to read, harder to transcribe, and harder to analyse. Bastard hands, which combine a formal book hand with a more cursive hand, are fairly legible, fairly quick to write, and can be analysed with a little more patience.

In applying this analysis, working from the original manuscript is of course the ideal situation, since there will be no degradation of image beyond what happened in the manuscript (which can be considerable due to fading, abrasion, water, fire, and unsympathetic readers). Ability to see gradations in ink can help to identify individual strokes. It is also possible to see where the quality of the writing surface affected the writing. In addition, one can be sure of original size.

In the absence of access to the manuscript, digital reproductions are getting better and better. These can allow for magnification of detail not possible with the original, but they also have disadvantages. Every copy loses detail both of the writing and of the surface. Degradation of image happens very quickly. And it is often hard to know the size of the original.

An understanding of how the pen works on the vellum, how a change in pen angle changes the thickness of the minim and overall look of a letter, how the angle of the pen affects the relationships of horizontal and vertical strokes of a letter and how best a pen works (pulled not pushed), can be extremely useful to a scholar of manuscripts wanting to understand the hands. From this a scholar may even try with some success to copy the forms on the page (although even that process has been frowned upon by scholars and palaeographers ... why?). Such basic awareness, important as it is, is only the very beginning. As any beginning student of lettering quickly learns, it takes years to become good, and even more to become a master – at least some ten thousand hours of practice.[5] Most scribes of the past were not doing this work at their leisure: it was a job with the pressure associated with getting a job done well and, presumably, as fast as is possible.

Admittedly, I am not a medieval scribe. I do not know as much as I should about the intricacies of the medieval scriptorium. My jobs have a much wider range and my tools are more modern (well, to a degree) and my workplace has many handy additions such as heat and artificial light, and a comfy, ergonomically correct chair. But the part of writing I can best share is my doing it for a living, experiencing the pressures and tedium and rewards of constant real work practice.

[5] This number, often cited in the seminar, is suggested by R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008), as a prerequisite for mastery of a craft.

A Modern Scribe Working on the Exeter Book

I went into the Obermann seminar feeling a bit out of place, since I am a contemporary scribe, knowing that the scholars I would be working with are far better versed in history and scholarship than I am, but it proved a fruitful exchange. When Pat asked me to help him out by trying to reproduce a page of the Exeter Book I gladly agreed. This was different from my usual jobs for many reasons, but one I felt fully prepared for. I was very interested in learning the hand and doing the kind of work I teach in my History of Western Letterforms class.

I started by writing with my metal nib on paper to simply acquaint myself with the letters and the texture of the writing. Paper and metal nibs are very familiar to me, and I was trying to tackle one unfamiliar thing at a time. It will come as no surprise that I rarely use Anglo-Saxon in my regular working life and I do not have the luxury to make that hand one I use all the time (until I do that *Beowulf* book!). My most obvious disadvantage, then, was my unfamiliarity with Anglo-Saxon hands. Learning which letter was which took time. I have written insular minuscule to create certificates for the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, but I certainly do not have a facility with the script, nor do I read or speak any Old English. If I had Anglo-Saxon scripts or language under my belt, the task would have been much easier. While not being able to read or understand what I was writing was a problem for me, I am sure it was also a problem for historic scribes when they were asked to copy a book in another language unfamiliar to them.

I had to copy each stroke, not just each letter as you might assume, noting the pen angle and the space between each downstroke, neither of which were very consistent. I noticed I tended to work a little too large and my spacing was exaggerated when concentrating on these specific details, so my first copy was much wider proportionally than the original. For my next copy, I decided to use vellum for my writing surface. Vellum is a very familiar writing surface for me. I have done whole books on vellum and use it routinely in my artistic and commercial work. Even so, working on vellum with a metal nib, my script still was not compressed enough.

For my next try I did an unhistorical thing by xeroxing the photo of the page I was working from and folding it so that the 'original' was right above my writing line, to better capture the interrelationships of space and stroke. I also started working with an appropriately sized quill. (Does that balance out the xerox?) Having the copy directly above where I was to write helped me look at the line as a whole. Isolating letters to look at details is helpful, but it is important to work with the letters together in context to understand the shape of the word and the texture of the page.

The writing in the Exeter Book was done with just a base line for the scribe to follow. In this case the scribe was very loose with the actual size of the writing, x-height or minim height. Today we tend to have a prejudice towards a set waistline, creating a uniform letter height edging on typographic perfection, but that was very much not in

evidence here. Direct comparison by having the original line right above where I was writing helped me see the size of each individual letter in relation to its neighbour. Was some of this arbitrary spacing done to try and match the line length of the hand that the Exeter book scribe was copying?

I was working very slowly, noticing each of the many details that challenged me. The original scribe, however, must have been working a bit quicker in view of the many graceful ligatures and lively exit strokes, but there is no consistent forward slant to indicate a rushed job. Exit and entrance strokes can often tell you about pen angle and pen movement, but I found these in the Exeter Book to be fairly clumsy and very variable.

As I was working, I really started questioning my own assumptions about what is expected in 'good' writing. Looking closely at the Exeter Book writing, I was seeing many strangely slanted letters, rounded arches in some areas and more rectangular arches in others, some strong down strokes, and many hugely weak ones with correspondingly heavy entrance and exit strokes (due to a suddenly steepened pen angle), along with variable spacing especially within words. Much of this variability goes against what I have been taught to value as a scribe, but the text is certainly readable, so who cares if the down strokes are all over the place in width?

Working with the quill on vellum proved very informative. Quills are not part of my everyday writing life, even though I would like to incorporate them more. They really are supreme writing instruments when well made, lightweight, capable of the finest hair line, and able to write on their corner longer than steel pens can, which is nice for drawing details. But finding, choosing, and cutting quills is labour-intensive. One must obtain flight feathers from birds such a Canada goose or turkey, cure them correctly using a heat source, cut them to the right width, and be ready to recut them when they split or become worn. I have been told the best way to learn to cut quills is to sit with a huge pile of feathers and just cut away. While I have been taught to cut quills, I have not had the opportunity to do this often enough to become expert. But I found myself wondering, does our reliance on the strict sizes of metal nibs lead us to an overemphasis on exact pen widths and correspondingly consistent down strokes?

I still have a long way to go in the knowledge and use of writing fluids. I used jet black gouache, a man-made opaque watercolour paint, which is my standard writing fluid. While many scribes use some kind of ink, higgins eternal or oriental stick inks, I find that gouache lends itself particularly well to steel pens and clean writing with fine hairlines. If I did this again I would try writing with iron gall ink, even though that is not something that has been feasible for me thus far in my working life as a scribe.

Accurate Reproduction and Mastery or Internalisation

I did a fair job reproducing a page, but I am not sure that it was a total success. When Pat saw it he said, "I think you've mastered it!" Perhaps I had mastered making a copy, but I know that I had not mastered the writing. Real mastery of the actual writing in the way a scribe would master the craft then or now was far from me. Mastery would require understanding the decisions the scribe made. Mastery involves a freedom from conscious thought of the process and an internalised habit of working. I do have that mastery with other hands and so I know what it feels like. What I was doing involved constant thought of the practice, an essential part of learning, but not mastery. I was not thinking about writing words as the original scribe was. I was not even focused on the letters so much as on individual strokes to mimic what he or she was doing.

Technique is one thing, but approaching the work as an actual professional would is very different. It takes years of practice to achieve the mindlessness that is created only when you have written over and over beyond the point of boredom to where the letters come out without thinking. This mindlessness is what marks a master scribe.

Mastery	*vs.*	*Reproduction*
Writing words		Copying each stroke with laboured intention, drawing the shape of the word
Totally internalised		Working to figure out 'how to do it'
Working with a living, working, personalised hand		Simply copying a model or perfect form (some scribes never get beyond the model)

This was an extremely useful, informative exercise. Not only have I taken steps to allow me to sometime master the Exeter Book hand, but the exercise also brought up many questions and made clear how even my contemporary scribal skills and mastery can be useful to the study of historical letters

This exercise also led me to question my own contemporary prejudices about what makes a good hand or what is the right way of doing things. Because I have had the luxury to work slowly developing letters with perfect x-heights, even, regular spacing, and strong down strokes with subtle exit and entrance strokes, I expect certain things about the writing I am creating. With the example of perfect typography hanging in any client's expectations of my

writing (along with my own perfectionist tendencies), I have tended to have a preference for uniformity. The Exeter Book hand seemed to have many arbitrary changes in down stoke width, slant, spacing and letter shape. I have seen many manuscripts where this is not the case, so I hesitate to draw any conclusions from this one example about what defines a competent hand as far as old scribes go, but it does make one consider what the demands on this person or persons are. Do such variations indicate the creative work of a single scribe or indicate a different scribe? Are the aesthetic values different?

Teaching and Learning

If the Exeter Book hand were to be taught in a modern workshop, the teacher would have to decide what was important to capture for the manuscript and pass on to students. Is there a reason some words space tightly together or is that just the product of bad planning?

Today most scribes learn in group settings, but work in isolation when they are actually doing their writing, social interaction comes in while dealing with the business aspects of the job, talking to clients, buying supplies, and self-promotion, which can take up a much larger percentage of time than actual writing. The St. John's Bible project is an exception, in which the core group of scribes actually work together in the scriptorium in Wales.

When I personally get into a situation of writing long texts, especially in a working time frame, I see the benefit of work more to my own personal style than the model perfect letters both for speed and for soul.

Scholars vs. Scribes

Why is there a divide between scholars and scribes? There is a difference between how a traditional scholar and a scribe looks at letter forms, that might be summarised as static vs. dynamic study. A modern scribe is taught that the marks we make on the page are traces of the movement of the body. This active viewpoint is reflected in our terminology. What the scribe calls a down stroke the palaeographer calls a minim. What the scribe calls an entrance or exit stroke the palaeographer calls a serif. (The term serif for a scribe tends to refer

more to the roman capital letter's entrance and exit strokes but is more constructed in many cases.)

The difference in approach extends to the way writing is seen. While the movement in some writing is more obvious than in others, even in the most static of hands (*textura quadrata* for example), a scribe will see the slow painstaking process of careful vertical movement, not just type-like images on the page.

A scribe's viewpoint is not crucial for all scholars. If a scholar is solely interested in the literary content of the writing, there is no need to be concerned with how the text was written, especially if someone has given you what you assume is a correct transcription. But if you need to do you own transcribing or otherwise work from originals, then such work will be enhanced by knowing how those words got onto the page. And to some degree that involves looking at script like a scribe.

Knowing the process of writing allows a scholar to identify aspects of hand movement that can provide valuable clues as to what the scribes were trying to do. As an actual scribe, you know what comes naturally to your pen, what strokes work and what strokes do not. Why is the minim ragged on one side? What changes writing styles? As a working scribe, you realise the many variations that can result from something as simple as a different mood, being tired, lazy, careless, or in pain. You may be able to determine what might be a personal quirk, what might be a conscious choice, and what might be the result of a faulty pen or an unreliable writing surface.

The knowledge that comes from writing letter forms could benefit many scholars. Why aren't more palaeographers trained as scribes? There may be a fear of the process, or a sense that it is really not that helpful after all. Even if convinced of the usefulness, there are other disincentives. As described above, becoming proficient at lettering is a hugely time-consuming process, with true mastery of the craft requiring something like ten thousand hours of experience. This may not be feasible for all scholars.

As an instructor for the University of Iowa Center for the Book, I have noticed the difficulties of connecting students and instructors of one aspect of book study with others. The left / right tendency of the scholarly book brain vs. the hands-on book brain tends to isolate us, not only in the educational realm but also in the social realm where important interaction of ideas often happens. Coming into the seminar I felt hesitation not from any lack of interest but from a fear of my own inadequacies involving the other side. But book study is so

hugely complex, we need both sides to do it justice. The seminar further expanded my awareness of that complexity, and made it clear that bringing together in a structured setting open-minded people, willing to expand out of their comfort zone, can benefit everyone and set up relationships and interactions that will be invaluable to further study. The only way to really study books and manuscripts is to do it as a community.

Parchment Production: A Brief Account

JESSE MEYER

Parchment has been around for thousands of years but was officially labelled thanks to healthy competition between ancient Egypt and the Greek civilisation in Asia Minor back during the heyday of the Great Library at Alexandria. The kingdom of Pergamon came into being around 300 BC as a result of the dissolution of the empire of Alexander the Great. As it progressed and flourished, it became a centre of learning that rivalled ancient Egypt. The Egyptians, in an effort to curb the advancement of Pergamon, barred the export of papyrus, the widely-used writing material of the day. Not to be deterred, Pergamon created its own substitute out of animal hide which was named in honour of its creator, *pergamena*. Over time it has been bastardised in the English language to its present form: parchment. This material proved more resilient than papyrus and quickly replaced it as the writing material of choice across the Western world, which it remained until the introduction of paper over 1000 years later.

Parchment is a sturdy material that can be arrived at in a variety of ways. It requires the removal of hair, excess fat and flesh, and controlled drying while flat and under tension. It is then cut up and most commonly used for writing on and binding books. The goal of the production process is achieved by wetting and swelling the hide to make for easy removal of the hair, flesh, and fat. The swelling is done chemically by changing the acidity or basicity of the skin from near neutral (pH 7) to either strongly acid (pH 1) or strongly basic (pH 13). Historically, parchmenters had many substances at their disposal that could accomplish this, ranging from faeces, egg, bran, and other vegetable materials for the acid dehairing of a skin, to lime (calcium hydroxide) for the basic dehairing method. Skins were left in a solution of these various materials until

it completely penetrated the skin. After the physical dehairing and fleshing was done to the skin, it was then washed to rid it of the excess solution and to bring the pH back to as close to neutral as possible. From this point the skin would then be stretched and physically scraped, tightened, and shaved on a frame as it dried. As it dries, the skin shrinks tremendously and becomes very thin under the tension. When drying is complete, this makes for a thin, flexible yet very durable material.

Parchment can be made from any animal, assuming the animal has a skin. Most commonly, it is made from calf, goat, sheep, pig, and sometimes deer. All have slightly different characteristics.

Process ...

1. Selecting skins.
   Size, age, flesh cuts, how fresh is the skin? What kind of animal? What breed and where was it raised? Was the animal well cared for and free of scrapes and scars? These are all factors that need to be considered.
2. Prepare skins for wetwork.
   Legs and tails need to be cut open to let chemicals act evenly on skin surface. Cut off metal tags, heads, and any internal 'hangers-on' (i.e. intestines, etc.).
3. Soak skins in a weight-based percentage chemical solution of dehairing agent, usually in a large pit or wooden drum.
4. Add lime later (also weight-based percentage) to swell skins and work in tandem with dehairing agent to increase effectiveness.
5. Fleshing.
   After sitting in bath for a period of time to allow full chemical penetration, skins are fleshed using a machine. Mechanical adjustment controls the amount of skin and flesh removed. Historically, fleshing was done over a rounded beam with a knife or blade (i.e. a *lunellum* or fleshing knife).
6. Steps 4 & 5 can be repeated to be more thorough.
7. Deliming.
   Chemical deliming is done to remove the lime from the skin and help bring the pH of the skin down closer to 7. Otherwise, continual washing with fresh water to remove lime from skin is necessary.
8. Bating.

Enzymes are added to tweak the fibre structure of the skin by selectively attacking and removing certain skin proteins and collagens.

9. Final neutralisation.
   Acid is added to bring the pH close to 7.
10. Bleaching.
    A small amount of a bleaching agent can be added to lighten the colour of the skin, which is then thoroughly washed.
11. Final trim and inspection.
    Skins can now be trimmed of excess fat or flesh so they do not stain the skin as it dries. Skins can also be trimmed of extraneous sections so you have a closed compact skin shape that is easy to work with.
12. Skins can now be either dyed or dried.
    Dyed skins are then washed and stretched on a frame to dry. Undyed skins are either hung dried or stretched flat.
13. Dry work.
    Skins can store indefinitely until they need to be restretched. Skins are resoaked in water until flexible and partially rehydrated. They are then stretched on a frame / rack and scraped and tightened.
14. Shaving and sanding.
    After the skins are dry, they are shaved and sanded to remove excess flesh and to thin the skin. Depending on the use, they can be shaved and sanded on both the flesh and the grain side, as when it is for writing purposes. If it is for binding, shaving and sanding is usually only done on the flesh side.
15. Repeat.
    Steps 13 and 14 can be repeated for thoroughness.
16. Trim and measure.
    Skin is taken down and trimmed of outside thorny edges and measured.
17. In order to make a living at it, this process is repeated ad nauseam ...

Tools ...

- Several nice sharp knives of varying shapes.
- A scraper / dull blade for removing water and scudding.
- Stretching frames.
- A sander or sandpaper and sanding block.
- An inexhaustible supply of water.

- Garden lime (hydrated lime).
- Various impossibly heavy and / or bizarre pieces of machinery and equipment.

Unruly Reading: The Consuming Role of Touch in the Experience of a Medieval Manuscript

JENNIFER BORLAND

When scholars like myself hold medieval objects such as manuscripts, we catch but a glimpse of what past handlers, readers, and viewers may have also experienced. Nevertheless, we do share something with the nuns and monks, kings and queens who also held these objects. And occasionally, the handlers of the past chose to leave marks more permanent than the everyday wear and tear these books usually show. My essay will discuss the unique qualities of one medieval manuscript in particular: a primarily twelfth-century Latin manuscript that includes an illustrated *Passion of Saint Margaret* along with twenty-six other texts, primarily other unillustrated saints' lives (MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133;[1] Plates 1-4[2]). The deliberate traces left by past users demand further inquiry, beseeching us to investigate more closely the relationship between our experiences of manuscripts today, and those responses of past readers who have left an indelible mark on the pages.

In the Munich manuscript of Margaret's *Life*, the physical destruction of evildoers was literally enacted by the reader / viewer, the figures becoming present to the reader and thus vulnerable to attack. And even though that audience was likely aware of the preciousness associated with the manuscript, that

[1] Although Margaret's *Life* in this manuscript has most often been dated to the twelfth century, Elisabeth Klemm suggests an earlier dating of the eleventh century for the *vita:* E. KLEMM, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998), 1, p. 290.

[2] The plates can be found at the end of the volume.

knowledge did not deter them from making their marks on this book. Forcing us to grapple with such contradictions, the defacement demonstrates that perhaps the greatest power of this book lay not in its inherent value, but rather in the opportunity it provided for the physical and immediate eradication of evil. Such tactility, which resonates with the very nature of medieval visuality, suggests that the "tangible materiality"[3] and immediacy of medieval material remains a largely untapped area of investigation, one that has the potential to open and expand the ways in which we approach our study of the historical past.

I begin this study by outlining the specifics of this manuscript's defacement, describing what has happened to the pages of Margaret's *Life*. I consider the possibilities for how this damage was achieved, discussing the particularities of each mark and its results. Although the reasons for the book's defacement elude us, this essay proposes how we might come to understand the manuscript's treatment in historical terms. Beyond hypotheses regarding the motivations of past users, my project here also seeks to view this book's value as an object that facilitates our theorisation of materiality itself.

The treatment evident on the folios of this specific manuscript seems at first to be a demonstration of flagrant vandalism: nearly every illustrated scene displays one or more damaged figures. A variety of body parts have been erased, and these faces and limbs are now replaced by dirty, abraded marks. Occasionally, a hole has been rubbed completely through the parchment. In our pursuit for an explanation as to why a past user (or users) treated the *vita* in this way, a wide range of additional issues and questions will surface. As I hope to demonstrate, extensive consideration of the material aspects of this unusual book fosters new ways of thinking about how medieval manuscripts moved their viewers and, conversely, how the viewer's touch affected the manuscript as well.

All medieval manuscripts come to us with secrets, secrets that often can only be accessed, if at all, by closer investigation of the materiality of the book, by what has survived the centuries and can be held in our hands today. I will argue that this *Life* of SMargaret, a preserved material object that links us

[3] M.E. CARRASCO, "Spirituality in context: The romanesque illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., Ms 250)", *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), pp. 415-435, at p. 430. Carrasco is speaking specifically to the accessibility of saints through shrines, relics, and other trappings associated with their cults, but the term seems equally relevant to the manuscripts that relayed the stories upon which these cults were based.

physically with the past we study, ought to prompt us to reevaluate the system by which we relate to, and therefore analyse, the past.

Clm. 1133 is a manuscript now housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, in Munich, Germany. According to the catalogues of the library's collections, this humble manuscript was probably one of over 400 manuscripts that were accessioned into the state library in the early nineteenth century, when the Benedictine abbey in Benediktbeuern, in southern Bavaria, was secularised in 1803.[4] The small manuscript (4.5 by 3.1 inches) contains twenty-seven texts, of which sixteen deal with saints – their lives and / or their martyrdoms. Saint Margaret's *Life* is fourth in the manuscript, and is one of the longer texts, extending over thirty-seven folios. The items included in the book range from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, but most appear to be from around the twelfth century.[5] Of all these texts, the *Life* of Saint Margaret is the *only* text that includes illustrations. In addition to seven drawings currently found in the manuscript, twenty-seven more folios of Margaret's vita have large areas left blank, presumably for further illustration that was never completed.[6] Margaret's *vita* may have originally been an independent *libellus*, or small pamphlet, which may explain its singularity.[7] Nevertheless, Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler has asserted that the consolidation of the extant volume took place soon after Margaret's *Life* was made.[8] Indeed, the expense of generating pages dedicated to illustrations and the additional effort necessary to complete them was not negligible, even for a quite small and relatively modest volume like this one.

The Passion of Saint Margaret tells the story of an early Christian virgin martyr who was tortured and killed because she would not submit to the advances of a Roman prefect, Olibrius, and renounce her Christianity. Integrated with the text on each page, the images consist primarily of simple line drawings of the main characters of the narrative, and rarely depict external architec-

[4] *Das Bistum Augsburg 1: Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern*, ed. J. HEMMERLE (Berlin and New York, 1991: *Germania Sacra*, new series 28), p. 118. See also the electronic catalogue *Halmii Codices Latini Monacenses (Clm)*: http://webserver.erwin-rauner.de/halm/vsign_saec.asp?provenienz=Bened.

[5] Klemm also proposes an alternative date for the entire manuscript (eleventh-thirteenth centuries): KLEMM, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 290.

[6] For a more extensive discussion of the possible content of these incomplete images, see the comparison with other Margaret cycles in J. WEITZMANN-FIEDLER, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende", *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 17 (1966), pp. 17-48.

[7] WEITZMANN-FIEDLER, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende", pp. 17-18.

[8] WEITZMANN-FIEDLER, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende", p. 18.

tural or spatial details such as framing, or lines indicating the ground.[9] The figures are drawn in light brown ink, and the manuscript is without other colour except for the occasional red rubrication used in the initials. There is also (presumably later) overdrawing evident on several of the images, which seems to be of similar ink to the additional identifications that also appear on several of these folios.[10]

The focus on Margaret's story itself is not terribly helpful in determining audience or possible users, for she was a popular saint in this period of the Middle Ages and later, as indicated by other manuscripts devoted to her as well as the abundance of relic veneration.[11] The legend of Saint Margaret can be traced to at least as far back as the eighth century, which is the date of the earliest extant Latin manuscript containing a version of Margaret's *passio*, and there are some illuminated manuscripts from as early as the ninth and tenth centuries.[12] She was an especially popular saint from the twelfth century onwards. Unfortunately, no critical edition of the Latin *Passio S. Margaretae* has been produced to date. The most recent survey of the various Latin versions can be found in the study made by Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis. The text included in the Munich manuscript is very similar to the most widespread and influential version cited in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (*BHL*), No. 5303, "Version 1 (a)".[13] Clayton and Magennis have printed the text of MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5574, a manuscript of version *BHL* No. 5303.[14]

[9] The one exception is the prison tower depicted on f. 69r.

[10] These 'captions' or identifications include: "*S. Margareta*" on f. 64r, "*S. Margareta*" and "*Oues*" on f. 66r, "*S. Margareta*" on f. 66v, "*Carcus*" on f. 69r.

[11] See B. CAZELLES, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1991); M. CLAYTON and H. MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge, 1994); E. ROBERTSON, "The corporeality of female sanctity in the *Life of Saint Margaret*", in: *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI and T.K. SZELL (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 268-287; E. TREHARNE, "'They should not worship devils ... which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk': The sensibility of the virtuous and the *Life of St. Margaret*", *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 15 (1991), pp. 221-236.

[12] CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, p. 195.

[13] *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-1899: *Subsidia Hagiographica* 6) (henceforth *BHL*), 2, pp. 787-788 and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis Novum Supplementum*, ed. H. FROS (Brussels, 1986: *Subsidia Hagiographica* 70), pp. 575-578; CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, p. 7. This Latin version can also be found in *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. B. MOMBRITIUS, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910), 2, pp. 190-196.

[14] An English translation of the Latin *Passio S. Margaretae* can be found in CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, Appendix 2; my translation of the

In the first scene, Margaret is shown as a model of virtue alongside two other saintly virgins, Thecla and Susanna (ff. 63v-64r; Plate 1). These three are placed opposite a man, probably Margaret's father Theodosius, who is shown to be held in the grip of the devil, worshipping idols.[15] Located to the right and facing away from Margaret, this man looks at an idol, depicted as a beastly creature, standing upright and about half the height of the man. Margaret is shown with her foster mother in the *vita*'s second scene (f. 64v), in which two female figures face one another. The text suggests that Margaret loved her foster mother, who was also a Christian, although the figure on the left, presumably Margaret, displays a halo while the other woman does not. In the third image (65v-66r), Margaret tends to her sheep as a man on horseback (Olibrius), followed by a group of soldiers, approaches her. As logically follows, the fourth scene shows Margaret surrounded by three soldiers, who follow Olibrius' command to seize her so that he may make her either his wife or concubine (f. 66v; Plate 2). On folio 67v, a creature that appears winged stands facing Margaret (Plate 3). Although we might be inclined to read this image as one of the beasts that visit Margaret while she is incarcerated, the figure is depicted sitting on a faldstool (folding stool), and is described in the text as the prefect Olibrius.[16] In the sixth scene (f. 69r), a small crowd of men, probably guards, stands in front of a tower, identified as the prison in which Margaret has been shut up. Finally, the remaining scene illustrated in this manuscript depicts the

manuscript's text is read against this translation. Their translation is based on a tenth-century Latin text, a text quite similar to that in Clm. 1133. Only occasionally does the Latin text of MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 1133 differ significantly from *BHL* No. 5303; see CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, "The Latin versions of the legend", pp. 7-23, and Appendix 2, pp. 191-223. Another strand of Version 1 in Latin is classified as *BHL* No. 5304, "Version 1(b)", also referred to as the Casinensis version, and departs in some ways from the *BHL* No. 5303 (or the Mombritius) version; see CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, pp. 13-16, and Appendix 3, pp. 224-234. In the Munich manuscript, some of the departures from *BHL* No. 5303 seem to evoke unique aspects of *BHL* No. 5304 instead, although such inferences are not identical to this alternative Latin version either.

[15] On the next page, f. 64v, the text states "*Beatissima enim Margareta erat Theodosii filia qui erat patriarcha gentilium et idola adorabat*" ("The most blessed Margaret, then, was the daughter of Theodosius, who was chief priest of the pagans and worshipped idols"); CLAYTON and MAGENNIS, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, p. 195.

[16] Why this figure would have wings is unclear. It may be that wings are not depicted at all, but that the defacement here has erased enough of the image to create the illusion of wings out of lines that simply represent the prefect's arm and robes. At the same time, the text above the image and on the next page discusses the prefect as wicked; Margaret prays to God and describes Olibrius as a wolf, a snare, and a net. Thus it is possible that the wings were intended to reflect the wicked, devilish nature of the prefect.

enthroned prefect opposite Margaret, who faces him as she is held by two guards, one on either side of her (ff. 69v-70r; Plate 4).

The two scenes in which Margaret stands in front of Olibrius show the prefect as remarkably bestial (Plates 3 and 4). Indicating his monstrosity, even his faldstool represents a monstrous hybrid of animal parts: two heads and two legs, sticking out from behind the figure of the ruler. Along with the threat, and eventual occurrence, of tortures and imprisonment, Margaret's ordeal involves two later encounters with beastly entities: a dreadful dragon that appears to her in prison, and another devil, in the form of a black figure, who claims to be the brother of the dragon. In the first case, Margaret is swallowed whole by the dragon, but by making the sign of the cross, she grows and splits the dragon "into two parts", emerging from his body unscathed. It is apparently this successful emergence that caused Margaret to eventually become known as a patron saint of birth and motherhood.[17] Although the later illustrations that probably would have depicted these beasts were never completed, it is clear that the illustrator conceptualised an overt pictorial association between the prefect and the demons that harass Margaret later in her story.

In four of these scenes, various figures have been radically defaced. In the first image (Plate 1), the man's face is virtually erased, but the vigour of the rubbing here is minimal compared to other places in the manuscript. In fact, on the same page the idol's face has been worn completely through. The idol's hand and foot are also erased, grey smudges appearing where these extremities once were.[18] The most prominent example of defacement appears in the scene of Olibrius on his throne on f. 69v, as two guards escort Margaret to him on f. 70r (Plate 4). The prefect's face and right hand and arm are rubbed completely through, as are parts of his throne, including one of the bestial feet. In this case, even the markers of Olibrius's authority are removed by the diligent defacer. Across from this image, Margaret remains legible while the two guards appear as headless henchmen without hands or feet. The figure on the right is especially dissolved, with only a pelvis and stumps of legs remaining. Without a leg to stand on, these symbols of Roman paganism and imperial authority fall to the blessed and intact Margaret and her reader ally.

[17] For instance, this can be found in later vernacular versions of the legend in both English and French; see ROBERTSON, "The corporeality of female sanctity", p. 285, and CAZELLES, *The Lady as Saint,* p. 218.

[18] For more on the depiction and defacement of representations of idols, see M. CAMILLE, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989), especially pp. 18-19.

The endeavours of this reader are especially noteworthy when considered in relation to the materials of which these folios were made. Parchment, especially that which was produced in the Middle Ages, is tough. The contents of medieval manuscripts like Clm. 1133 have survived for hundreds of years. Many manuscripts were seen by their owners as precious commodities, and were treated carefully, stored in cool, dark libraries that were ideal for preservation. For me to be able to handle the pages of this manuscript in the twenty-first century, these pages were clearly made to be strong and resilient. The particular leaves on which Margaret's story is illustrated are demonstrably high quality, lacking blemishes, thin spots, or cracking. Although small manuscripts are often made from the outer edges of a stretched skin in order to efficiently use up all the materials available, those areas also tend to be the weakest parts of the treated skin.[19] However, that does not seem to be what was done in this case. These folios demonstrate virtually no flaws, holes, or bumps from insect bites. They show consistent colour and texture, indicating the relative expense of these high quality folios, clearly designated as such early in the process of making Margaret's *Life*. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that a subsequent reader would take to these images with such deliberate violence.

The nature of the abrasions in the images of Margaret's story varies, but most of the areas seem to have a slightly darker colour (not unlike the grey smudge that is often left behind by a dirty pencil eraser) and are visibly abraded. What kind of tool or process would have made such markings? Sharp metal tools were likely used by those preparing the original parchment, and by later scribes correcting their mistakes: flesh and hair scraped away by the former, and errors in ink by the latter. A skilled scribe would be able to scrape away a malformed letter or unplanned ink droplet so that there was no evidence of either the error or the correction. Once the area was cleared of the mistake, the parchment was likely smoothed with the same tools that were used for the original treatment of the parchment, such as pumice.[20]

[19] In the process of parchment production, the edges of the skin are less desirable both because the skin left inadequately stretched becomes hard and horny like rawhide, and because the weaker parts of the skin (under the legs, etc.) end up situated at the edge of a treated skin as well.

[20] Pumice was used much like sandpaper or other sanding methods would be used today; see R. CLEMENS and T. GRAHAM, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007). See also M.L. RYDER, "Parchment: Its history, manufacture, and composition", *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2 (1960), pp. 391-399, at p. 395.

With tools likely available to make clean erasures, what does the rough nature of these markings tell us about the method by which they were made? A sharp tool appears to have been used, signalled in part by several of the holes that suggest the defacer eventually sliced through the parchment, perhaps while scratching or rubbing. And yet, the abraded nature of some of these spots speaks for a tool that was not especially good for smooth, refined corrections: these are messy, sloppy, uneven actions against the manuscript's pages.

So how do we begin to interpret these markings? Many instances of such treatment of medieval manuscripts exist, and in some cases it is clear that repeated touching of a particular spot has led to the disappearance of what was once depicted. However, this is most common with images of devotion, where representations of Christ or the Cross have been kissed and caressed repeatedly over centuries.[21] Similar responses have been described for other medieval objects. For example, the wear displayed by Byzantine ivories indicates not only frequent handling, but also sometimes the caressing or kissing of specific elements within the image.[22] Even clear instances of censorship are often minimally disruptive to the fabric of the parchment itself, for instance, in cases where puritan beliefs have led to the removal of genitalia.[23] But in the case of Margaret's *Life*, the parchment has sustained serious trauma. These are demonstrably violent alterations that require a more nuanced reading to acknowledge the forcefulness evident here.

In addition to mutilation caused by censorship of sexuality or even passionate devotion, the Munich manuscript's damage clearly resembles another form of defacement, that which is intent on removing representations of evil – demons, devils, or the Antichrist.[24] For example, similar defacement can be found in the fourteenth-century Macclesfield Psalter, in which a rubbed-out devil

[21] Several such instances are discussed in K.M. RUDY, "Kissing images, unfurling rolls, measuring wounds, sewing badges and carrying talismans: Considering some Harley manuscripts through the physical rituals they reveal", *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2011), at http://www.bl.uk/eblj/index.html; see also M. CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure: Censorship in medieval illuminated manuscripts", in: *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. J.M. ZIOLKOWSKI (Leiden, 1998), pp. 139-154, at p. 141.

[22] A. CUTLER, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th-11th Centuries)* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), pp. 23-29, 39.

[23] CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure", p. 147.

[24] CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure", pp. 144-145; S. LEWIS, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 126.

confronts St. Dunstan in the folio's *bas de page* (Plate 5).[25] Anticipating the actions of the later reader (and perhaps even their tools of defacement), St. Dunstan defends himself against the devil with his attribute of goldsmith's tongs (he is the patron saint of goldsmiths and other metal smiths). Although the erasure here does not break through the parchment, it does invite associations between the destruction of wicked entities and the sorts of implements that may be used for such erasure. Rather than censorship per se, such defacement reflects the desire to make something pictured 'unseen', to enact the 'obliteration' of 'that which shows itself'.[26] This defacement, violent and aggressive in its materiality, suggests that the viewer was not only unconcerned with hiding the nature of the erasures; on the contrary, it seems the perpetrator wanted the aggressiveness of these changes to be clearly evident to subsequent readers. In this lack of subtlety, the hands responsible for this damage seem to have wanted others to notice the change that had been enacted on this manuscript's parchment.

The Munich manuscript's *Life of St. Margaret* shares some characteristics that have also been observed in other manuscripts of Margaret's cycle, books that are generally from around the same time and located in southern Bavaria, the region in which the Munich manuscript is presumed to have been made.[27] Weitzmann-Fiedler has pointed out the similarities between several such manuscripts, and in some cases (though not all of them), Olibrius is the recipient of censorship as well. Although primarily actions that rubbed out or erased Olibrius' face, these examples may indicate trends of defacement particular to this region or a specific moment. Michael Camille has suggested that much of the sexual censorship that took place on the folios of medieval manuscripts took place in the later Middle Ages. This is based primarily on social and cultural changes identified in notions about sexuality rather than on scientific data. Nevertheless, similar continuities suggest that when such defacement happens to certain image types, and comparable methods are used across many examples, we may have stumbled upon a momentary trend that was unlikely to have been continuously sustained over a long period of time.

One scenario for us to consider is that these actions were perpetrated initially by one person, but then each reader was reminded of this somewhat iconoclastic behaviour when reading the book and inclined to repeat it. Over time,

[25] I thank Elaine Treharne for bringing this image to my attention.
[26] CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure", p. 145.
[27] WEITZMANN-FIEDLER, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende", pp. 24-25.

multiple readers or at least multiple touchings may have contributed to the long-term result. Such repeated touching might have exacerbated the damage, for the abraded surface would have been even more susceptible to the added grime of dirty, rough tools or soiled fingers. The darkened quality of some of the damaged areas might be interpreted as simply use over time, for hands are some of the most significant culprits for destroying manuscript pages. But in contrast to the usual wear and tear that is observed in many well-used manuscripts, the folios of this book do not show wear or discoloration at the lower, outer edges.[28] Moreover, that kind of wear tends to create a shiny and smooth surface, rather than the rough one we have here. It seems clear that this damage was not the result of everyday use, and thus compels us to consider the ramifications of this defacement's effects.

Affected myself by the visceral experience of handling this manuscript, I am struck by the powerful resonances of my own experiences and those I am trying to access from another historical moment. The manipulated nature of manuscripts like this one provides a remarkably tangible link to the past, even more so than other medieval objects, because the defacement acts as an indexical marker of previous handlers. This link between past and present requires us to consider how we, as twenty-first-century scholars, can access medieval experience through the phenomenology of handling old books. To reconsider this manuscript and its history in these terms necessitates that we interrogate the tactility, the physicality of historical inquiry. Especially pertinent to this volume on materiality, the historical value of our own responses to the study of the past is an arena that invites specific theoretical consideration.

The investigation of audience and response is not especially new in art history, although the question of what an historian's own responses bring to bear on such research has been less thoroughly interrogated. For example, in art historian David Freedberg's *The Power of Images,* he addresses the "failure" he sees in his field, the failure to deal with the ways people have responded to images.[29] Although fully cognisant of the "obstacles in the way of assessing past responses", Freedberg nevertheless proposes that

[28] For an excellent study of such markings, see K.M. RUDY, "Dirty books: Quantifying patterns of use in medieval manuscripts using a densitometer", *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), at http://www.jhna.org/.

[29] D. FREEDBERG, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989; paperback edn. 1991), p. XIX.

> There still remains a basic level of reaction that cuts across historical, social, and other contextual boundaries. It is at precisely this level – which pertains to our psychological, biological, and neurological status as members of the same species – that our cognition of images is allied with that of all men and women.[30]

These shared experiences are not only visual, but also material, and in the case of the Munich *Life* of St. Margaret, the materiality of the object is precisely what fosters the present's link to the past. The fascination that I have felt with this manuscript stems directly from its material state today, constructing a scenario where my hand touches the places where past hands have been. My visceral experience seems to share a very precise resonance with the extreme response of the book's past handlers as well.

The exploration of these ideas has also been represented in the work of a number of well-known medieval historians. Their inquiries acknowledge the problems of attempting to objectively separate ourselves, and our points of view, from our study of the past. Caroline Walker Bynum has described historians themselves as hybrids, "monstrous combinations of past and present", suggesting that the best that we can aim for is something of a mixture, "a simultaneous assertion of past and present, self and other".[31] This notion of hybridity seems to acknowledge the inevitability that our experiences will inform our perceptions of the past. While Freedberg asserts that we share fundamental characteristics and perspectives with viewers from the past, Bynum further suggests that no one, especially no historian, is ever fully contained within the present.

Both of these constructions demonstrate an acceptance of subjectivity in historical practice. Perhaps more significantly, however, these perspectives also underscore the potential value of precisely this kind of subjectivity. Freed of the expectations of unattainable objectivity, more and more scholars have begun to explore what new modes of interpretation open up as a result. By envisioning a form of 'affective' communities that span time, Carolyn Dinshaw has found a way to explore subjectivities now and in the past through a queer lens.[32] And Dyan Elliott has explained that she sees the alternative to introduc-

[30] FREEDBERG, *Power of Images*, p. 23.

[31] C.W. BYNUM, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York and Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 34-36.

[32] C. DINSHAW, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC, 1999), pp. 12, 14, 34-35. Dinshaw also engages with the notion of touch and touching the past, although her exploration deals more with a kind of textual intimacy between

ing psychoanalytic concepts such as repression into her historical work as "unthinkable". She deems it misguided to limit one's historical description to the "vocabulary in which medieval thinkers were accustomed to describing themselves", stating that "the refusal to acknowledge impulses, motives, and fantasies incompatible with medieval self-understanding would constitute an unacceptable avoidance of our interpretive responsibility".[33] As these scholars have articulated, the present is not simply a burden or inhibitor that we must acknowledge and bear. On the contrary, our place in the present is precisely what allows us to propose new methods of interpretation for medieval cultural production.

Indeed, the material substance of the Munich manuscript provides a literal conduit between ourselves as contemporary historians and viewers of the past. More than simply a connection to past readers, this manuscript captures in material form the fundamentally cumulative nature of historical study. Once we accept the necessity of our presence in our work, it is possible to push further the notion of reciprocality in such endeavours. As the Munich manuscript can attest, an historical object's meaning does not fully reside in the past; on the contrary, its story is made up of its entire period of existence. My relationship with this book today is as much a part of its history as are the exchanges that past users have had with it.

In his recent book *Production of Presence*, theorist Hans Gumbrecht argues that the dimension of presence, in which cultural phenomena and events have tangibility and make an impact on our senses and bodies, is fundamental to today's historical study by the humanities, which he sees as having become too distanced from the dimension of experience.[34] This proposal acknowledges, and even encourages, our own experiences in our study of the past. The continual *presence* of the objects over time should be an essential part of historical analysis, and the tangible connection a scholar has with the object of research must be central to that investigation.

While Elliott has asserted the value of psychoanalysis for her work, I have found that phenomenology and reception theory have been integral to my interpretation of the Munich manuscript and to Margaret's *Life* in particular. Beyond a scholarly acknowledgement of the desire to connect with the past, phe-

bodies than with our own physical touching of objects from the past.

[33] D. ELLIOTT, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 7-8.

[34] H.U. GUMBRECHT, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford, 2004), pp. 224-232.

nomenology explicitly engages the *tangible* experiences we have, as well as how they may be related to the physical experiences of other individuals. Phenomenological studies pursue the affective character of experience, acknowledging that intellectual and visual stimuli can be felt throughout the body.[35] Prompting investigations into the essence of what we experience, phenomenology provides a critical apparatus for investigating reception through the notion of a 'lived body' that experiences the world and also impacts that world, a notion that resonates with medieval materiality. In an essay on the relationship between the flayed body in medieval narratives and the flayed animal skins on which those stories are written, Sarah Kay wonders if these "inarticulate material witnesses" affected their readers as much as the texts.[36] And Nancy Vine Durling has argued that parchment imperfections (already present when the script was written) are often integrated into the meaning of a manuscript, 'performing' associations with textual references embodied in wounds, scars, or sewing.[37] And Bynum's recent book on Christian materiality further testifies to the complex power often attributed to objects and images in late medieval Europe.[38] Given the tangible immediacy of such objects, it seems likely that such representations phenomenologically impacted medieval audiences and involved them in the production of the images' meanings.

The exploration of medieval images and their impact on audiences past and present is pertinent because of the special reciprocal and interactive nature of medieval visual theory itself. Medieval understanding of vision and perception involved the entire body of the viewer, engaged all the senses at once and was

[35] For example, see M. MERLEAU-PONTY, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. C. SMITH (London and New York, 2002; orig. *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris, 1945)), p. 202. Feminist reassessments of Merleau-Ponty's work have also been useful to me, including V.C. SOBCHACK, *The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience* (Princeton, NJ, 1992); J. BUTLER, "Sexual ideology and phenomenological description: A feminist critique of Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception*", in: *The Thinking Muse: Feminism and Modern French Philosophy*, ed. J. ALLEN and I.M. YOUNG (Bloomington, 1989), pp. 85-100; E. GROSZ, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington, 1994); I.M. YOUNG, "Throwing like a girl: A phenomenology of feminine body comportment, motility, and spatiality", *Human Studies* 3 (1980), pp. 137-156; republished several times.

[36] S. KAY, "Original skin: Flaying, reading, and thinking in the *Legend of Saint Bartholomew* and other works", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36 (2006), pp. 35-73, at p. 38.

[37] N.V. DURLING, "Birthmarks and bookmarks: The example of a thirteenth-century French anthology", *Exemplaria* 16 (2004), pp. 73-94.

[38] C.W. BYNUM, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011).

conceptualised as active exchange between seer and seen. Two theories regarding how sight worked were prevalent in the Middle Ages, theories that relied upon the notion of a physical exchange of matter through space. Extromission involved "the idea that a beam of light radiates outward from the eye illuminating what it falls on", while intromission was the notion "that all matter replicates its own image through intervening media until the image strikes the human eye".[39] The thirteenth-century scholar Roger Bacon proposed a synthesis of intromission and extromission, through which he emphasised the physical contact of vision "so that looking becomes analogous to touching",[40] or what Carolyn Collette has described as a "two-part process involving both seer and seen".[41] Such ideas emphasise the concept of vision as an exchange in two directions and reciprocal in nature. With the Munich manuscript's *Life* of Margaret, the spatial continuity of the book itself provides a connection between my own embodied reading of the book and the corporeal response evoked in the visual and tactile experiences of past users. Such access requires a fundamental rethinking of our disciplinary ideals of absolute proof and facts towards something far more nuanced, living, and continuous.

This *Life of St. Margaret* is filled with evidence of the physical interaction between its readers and the book itself. The images directly invoked a physical response, one that may have been solicited repeatedly each time the reader or readers came to engage with the manuscript and its images. What was it about Margaret's story that drove the viewer to such violent aggression and passionate response? Although we cannot know when the rubbing was done, the specificity of the defacement suggests the markings were by someone who fully understood and was keenly invested in what and who is depicted.

The clearest connection between the many sites of defacement is that the reader attacked the 'bad guys' in this story: the pagan father and the idol he worshipped, the prefect, and the prefect's soldiers. Originally deemed acceptable as content to depict on the *vita*'s pages, the status of these evil entities changed after the initial phase of destruction had taken place. Indeed, as Camille has pointed out, such defacement also ends up bringing more attention to

[39] C.P. COLLETTE, *Species, Phantasms, and Images: Vision and Medieval Psychology in the Canterbury Tales* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2001), p. 15.

[40] S. BIERNOFF, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2002), p. 85. For more on Roger Bacon and medieval optics in general, see D.C. LINDBERG, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago, 1976), and ID., *Studies in the History of Medieval Optics* (London, 1983).

[41] COLLETTE, *Species, Phantasms, and Images*, p. 13.

what has been removed.[42] Although certainly intended to demonstrate the problematic nature of these entities, does such action also grant them more negative power? On the contrary, the hand of the viewer who violently rubbed out the body parts of the wicked throughout this manuscript's pages simultaneously succeeded in emphasising Margaret's prominent position.[43] Such active destruction of these bodies demonstrates the moral position of the characters, as well as the desire of the reader to be morally aligned with the saint – whose body remained untouched.

In important contrast to the more common depictions of female saints, in which their bodies are often tortured and physically assaulted (see Plate 6), Margaret's body remains *more* intact than the erased and fragmented bodies of the wicked. This diligent handler succeeded in usurping from them the power that Margaret was denied by the prefect. The handler's activity reveals the particular tactility and immediacy with which medieval images were engaged, and this reciprocal understanding of viewing implicates the audience in Margaret's authoritative position. By rubbing and defacing the demons and evil figures on these pages, the reader in a sense re-enacted the heroic, saintly acts of Margaret. Even if it was an independent *libellu*s before it was bound into Clm. 1133, the date of the defacement remains unknown. But in that particularly portable form, it may have offered even more intimacy or spiritual fulfilment.

The destruction of many of these figures' faces succeeds in removing their identity, but it also takes away the signifiers of their capabilities for both sight and communication. Such defacement of figures occurs occasionally in medieval manuscripts, and when the eyes are rubbed out the 'evil eye' or powerful gaze of a malevolent figure is also removed.[44] The erasures of the hands and feet are equally telling. By removing the hands, the reader took away another sense from these bodies, which remain unable to touch or feel. Even more fascinating, the figures that have had their feet erased have become unable to move.

Several of these corporeal sites of communication and motility – the eyes, ears, hands, and feet – are mentioned repeatedly in the text as well. Throughout Margaret's story, idols are described as "deaf and blind" or "deaf and dumb",

[42] CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure", pp. 145-146.

[43] Margaret's transgressive and assertive position in the manuscript is more fully discussed in my essay "Violence on vellum: Saint Margaret's transgressive body and its audience", in: *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530*, ed. E. L'ESTRANGE and A. MORE (Farnham, 2011), pp. 67-88.

[44] CAMILLE, "Obscenity under erasure", p. 142.

and the pagan characters worship these deaf and dumb gods. When Margaret stands in front of the prefect, she speaks to him "face to face", and in one case, his wickedness is demonstrated by his covering his face with a cloak.[45] The tangible temptation was apparently too great for this reader, who seems to have been compelled to reiterate the ideas presented in the *Life*'s text.

This tangibility prompts further questions about the viewer's perceptions of Margaret's *vita* and this book. This defacer clearly understood the text, for the identification of the evil figures, and the very particular nature of their dismemberment, seems evidence enough of this fact. And if the overdrawing and labelling took place around the same time as the defacement, it also indicates a reader who was invested in the presence of Margaret, asserting her power by repeatedly naming her on the folio pages where she appears.

These ideas and what remains in the manuscript itself begin to make slightly more visible our intangible, ghostly defacer. The later overdrawing appears to be of the same ink colour and line quality as the identifications, suggesting that both interventions were conducted simultaneously. We cannot be sure they were done in tandem with the rubbings, but the shared disregard for the manuscript's original state is especially tantalising. The script of the labels is an unrefined version of Caroline minuscule, possibly from the later thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, and is not unlike the script used in the original writing. This later date alludes to a period when Margaret's cult was even stronger. The indication that this writing and drawing were done relatively soon after the creation of the *vita* is supported by other aspects as well.

This manuscript was likely constructed in the Benedictine monastery at Benediktbeuern, and the readers for centuries were probably monks and nuns.[46] We cannot rule out the possibility that other visitors may have had access to this manuscript as well. There seems to be a fairly wide range of possible viewers, and this is further complicated by the content of this manuscript as well, specifically, the *Life* of St. Margaret. Near the end of the text, the healing properties of both Margaret's passion (when read aloud) and her relics are es-

[45] Elaine Treharne has discussed the connection between evil and the lack of senses in Old English version of Margaret's *Life* in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 303; see TREHARNE, "'They should not worship devils ...'". I also thank her for sharing with me a forthcoming essay that revisits that manuscript and the ideas explored in the 1990 article, entitled "Sensation and revelation in the Old English *Life of St. Margaret*".

[46] There is documentation dated to 1116 of a double monastery at Benediktbeuern, presumably related to reforms enacted by Abbot Konrad (*c.* 1100-1122); see *Das Bistum Augsburg I: Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern*, p. 95.

poused, claiming that "no infant will be born lame, blind or dumb". A reminder of her associations with successful childbirth, this demonstrates that books were sometimes conceptualised as relics in and of themselves.[47] If this book or a *libellus* of Margaret's *Life* was used as a kind of talisman or relic, held and rubbed to conjure the blessings or healing powers of Margaret, a viewer is envisioned who facilitated Margaret's aid by helping her fight the evil entities depicted.

The actual nature of the rubbing, however, complicates this straightforward reading. The violated condition of the parchment itself suggests that, while the reader(s) may have had Margaret's victory in mind, that reader also took a very aggressive approach towards bolstering the saint against evil. The parchment, extremely durable and well made, would have only given in to the pressure of the reader's actions after a lengthy and rather vicious process with sharp tools and significant physical effort. When I first encountered this manuscript I assumed that the damage had been the result of rubbing repeatedly, a kind of slow, methodical touching that would eventually work through the parchment. However, with an improved understanding of parchment making, a result of the seminar out of which this collection of essays has grown, it is clear that a more intentional process as well as a much sharper implement than a finger must have been used – good parchment is just too strong to be worn through by hand.[48]

Any number of possible members of the audience for Margaret's *Life* or the manuscript could have been enlisted to embark upon such actions, either for their own health or on behalf of another member of society. The intensity of the rubbings indicates significant passion – a very powerful emotional response that was key to the physical treatment evidenced on the folios today. The durability of this manuscript's parchment is of course one of the reasons for its accessibility now, for despite the damage done to the pages, Margaret's *Life* has otherwise survived intact. And the nature of this intervention, its violence and aggressiveness, was also necessarily predicated on the quality and strength of the parchment. Finally, the parchment's particular qualities along

[47] See M. ELSAKKERS, "In pain you shall bear children (Gen 3:16): Medieval prayers for a safe delivery", in: *Women and Miracle Stories: A Multidisciplinary Exploration*, ed. A.-M. KORTE (Leiden, 2001), pp. 179-209.

[48] In particular, a strength-testing demonstration conducted by Timothy Barrett as part of the University of Iowa Obermann Center for Advanced Studies 2008 Research Seminar, 'Medieval Manuscript Studies and Contemporary Book Arts: Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Books', June 2008.

with its manmade blemishes are both central to our experiences of the book today. The book's resonances would be very different without the damage it has withstood over the centuries. When we touch the book today, we not only connect to the book's moment of creation, but also are reminded of the 800 years of readers, viewers, and handlers who have contributed to the complex network of experiences strewn between then and now. The holes and abrasions of this book bear witness to the manuscript's physicality, emphasising a material presence that forever alters how contemporary users access and touch this particular version of the past.

Parchment, Paper, and Artisanal Research Techniques

TIMOTHY BARRETT

The grouping of stars called the Seven Sisters can be seen more clearly, some say, by looking just to the side of the constellation rather than directly at it. In a similar sense, my own knowledge of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century European papermaking has been much informed by considering certain material aspects of parchment-based manuscript book culture. Is it possible the medievalist familiar with the manuscript period might learn something from a similar consideration of the arrival of paper and its subsequent dominant role in book production and consumption? And, perhaps more important, what might the scholar trained in academic research methods gain from considering the alternative research methods employed by an artisanal specialist during his study of historical papers?

These two lines of thought have driven my contributions during the Obermann seminar discussions and they provide the basis for the discussion that follows.

Paper and Parchment

Between 800 and 1100, papyrus, parchment, and paper were all competing as important writing materials in the Mediterranean theatre. But by 1100, papyrus dropped out of sight due to the incursion of Arab papermaking in the east

Fig. 1: Islamic-style papermaker Mohammed Hussein Kagzi at work, Sanganeer, India, 1995. Photo T. Barrett.

and the increasing availability of parchment in the West.[1] By the late fourteenth century paper was replacing parchment as the main material for writing and in the second half of the fifteenth century it became the substrate of choice that fuelled the rapid spread of printing. Why did paper so successfully beat the other two? Was paper just cheaper, or were the paper makers attentive to other marketing strategies that gave them the edge? And why was much of the paper produced in the fifteenth century some of the finest ever made?

Papermaking was invented in China around the time of Christ.[2] Curiously, as papermaking moved east from China into the Korean peninsula and Japan around 500 or 600, it also moved westward into the Arab world, arriving in Samarkand as early as 650. By the year 800, the Arabs had firmly established papermaking in the Mediterranean and they dominated the trade in the area until roughly 1200 when the craft entered Italy (fig. 1). By 1350 or 1400 the Italians had introduced a series of innovations resulting in what we now consider 'European or Western-style handmade paper'.

While the Arabs had been using old hempen ropes and rags as raw materials, the Italians refined the rag collection trade, increasing the quality and quantity of raw material available to paper makers (fig. 2).[3] The Arabs originally beat their fibre using a large hammer-headed stamper, foot-actuated by one person and fed at the business end by a second person. They later developed the use of the water wheel to power multiple stamper heads. The Italians,

[1] N. LEWIS, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974).

[2] See D. HUNTER, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York, 1943; repr. 1978), for the standard account of the subject.

[3] R.L. HILLS, "Early Italian papermaking, a crucial technical revolution", in: *IPH Congress Book* 9 (1992), pp. 37-46. Hills provides an excellent overview of the innovations made by the Italians in early European papermaking tools and techniques.

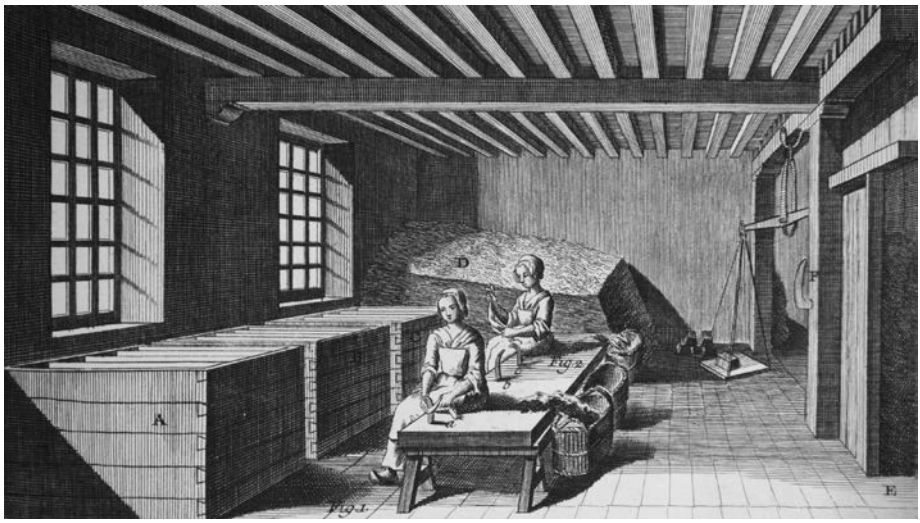
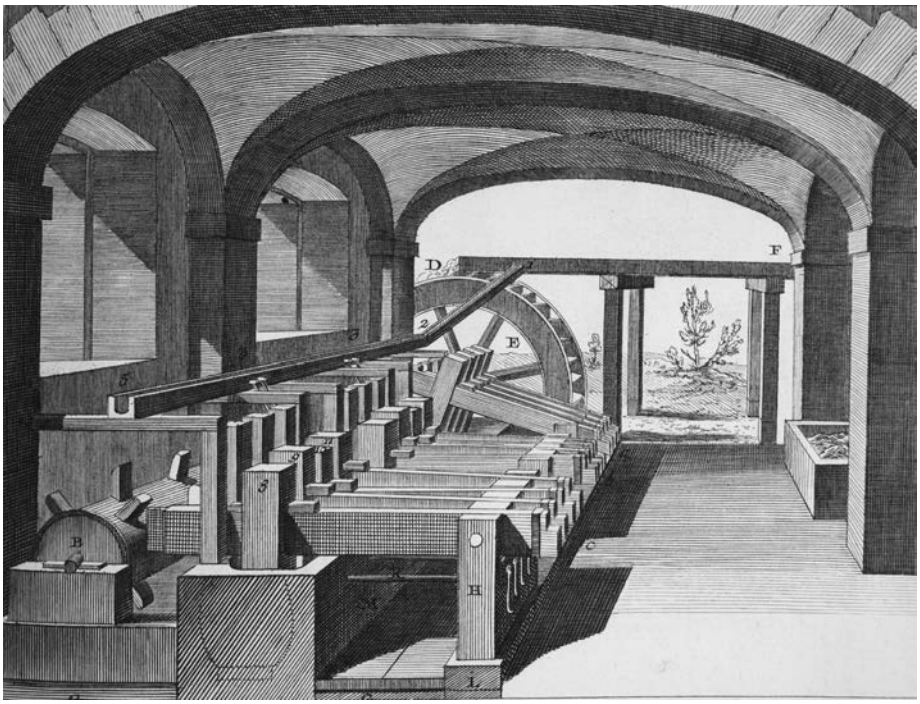


Fig. 2: Rag sorting. From *Encyclopédie; ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. D. Diderot *et al.*, 17 vols. (Paris and Neuchâtel, 1751-1765), plate from vol. 5 (Paris, 1755).

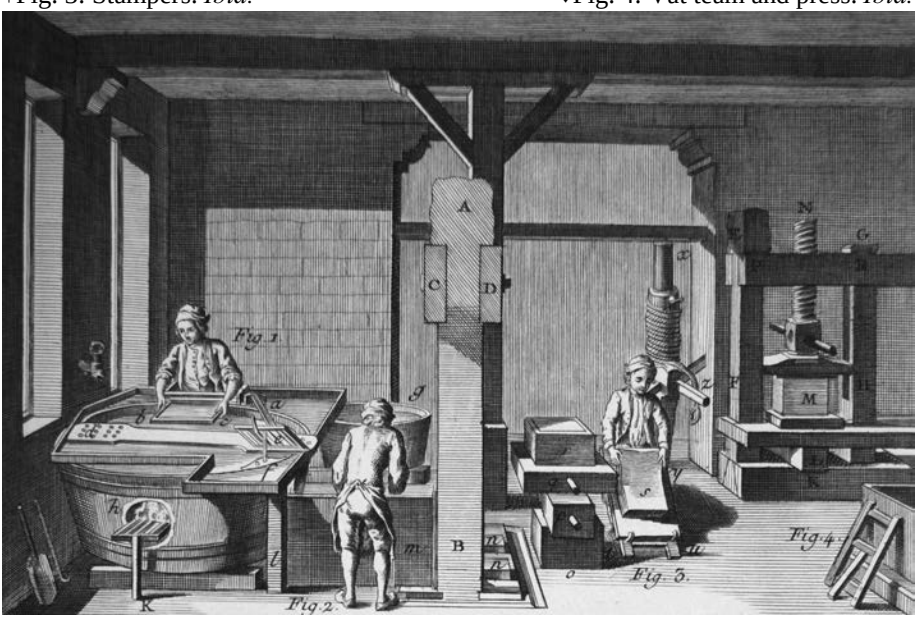
however, may have been responsible for developing gangs of heads operating in groups (fig. 3). Large amounts of rags were dispersed in enough water in the stone mortar pits to circulate automatically without the need for constant human attention. The Italians also introduced – soon after the development of wire drawing – the wire faced, fixed surface mould which allowed the quick transfer (or 'couching') of the freshly made sheet onto a damp felt. The felts in between the sheets allowed rapid and high pressure removal of excess water, using large mechanical screw presses (fig. 4). The Italians developed a three-person team that worked in unison at the vat: where the Arab vat person could make perhaps 400 sheets in a day, the Italian teammates could make 1500-2000 or more. Italian paper makers began drying paper by hanging the still moist sheets over ropes stretched across upper floor lofts in their mills (fig. 5). By opening and closing specially designed shutters, they could dry paper in a wide range of weather conditions – a distinct improvement over the Arab method of brushing sheets against a smooth outdoor masonry wall to dry.

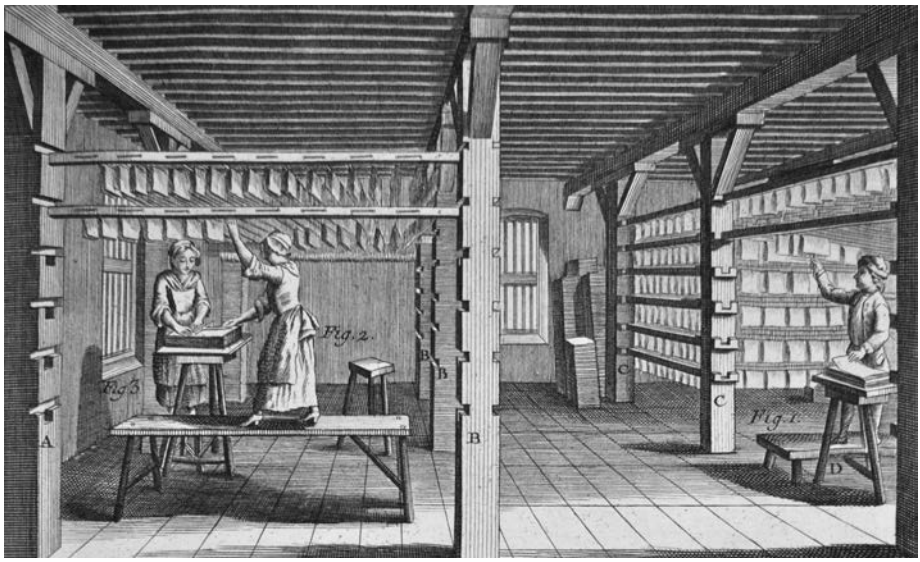
Arab sheets were sometimes considered too soft, likely a result of insufficient beating and the use of a starch surface sizing applied to the finished sheets that was too weak. The Italians introduced the use of gelatin surface sizes which, combined with careful rag selection and increased beating in the



↑Fig. 3: Stampers. *Ibid.*

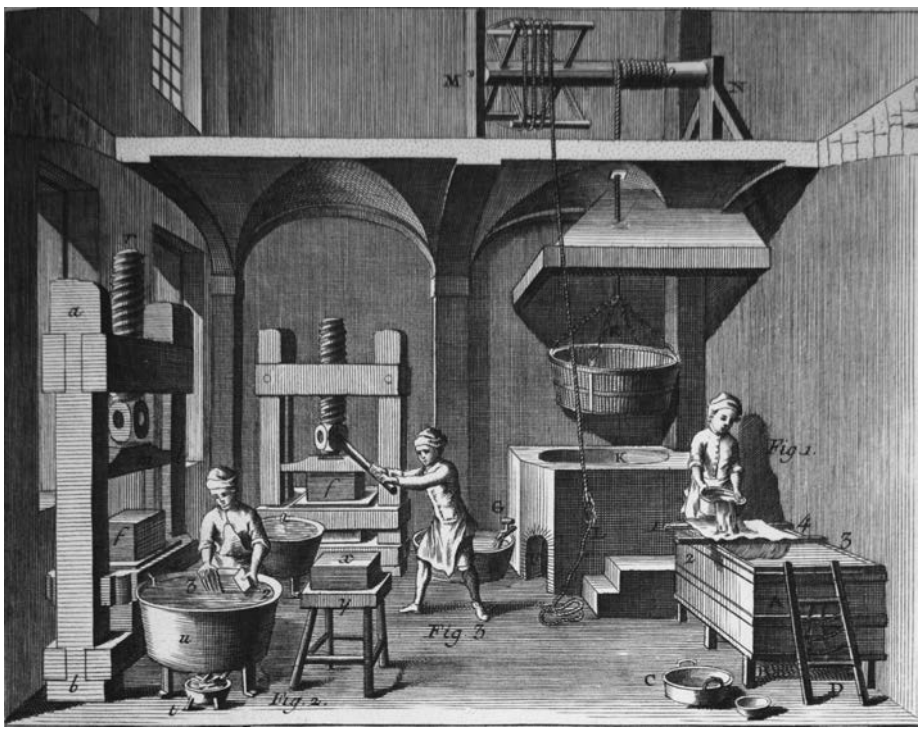
↓Fig. 4: Vat team and press. *Ibid.*





↑Fig. 5: Drying loft. *Ibid.*

↓Fig. 6: Gelatin sizing. *Ibid.*



'automated' stampers, resulted in paper that was much more evenly formed, uniform, and strong (fig. 6).

What inspired all these early innovations by the Italian paper makers? I would suggest that they were, by economic necessity, savvy entrepreneurs who recognised the potential of offering a writing material that was a credible *imitation of parchment* – the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century material of choice for manuscript book production. They also knew they needed to make their new substrate available in larger quantities and at a cheaper price than those offered by the parchment competition. They succeeded. During the fifteenth century the price of paper fell 40% while that of parchment rose.[4]

I emphasise the Italian introduction of gelatin sizing and the fact that parchment clippings were one of the preferred raw materials for making size. While new strong textile cuttings can be beaten sufficiently to produce a tough strong paper, the old tender rags used for most of the history of hand papermaking in Europe yield only a weak to medium strength sheet; a poor substitute for parchment. But if the paper is dipped into a warm dilute gelatin solution, pressed and allowed to dry, the paper is instantly transformed into an entirely different material. Not only can it be written on without fear of the ink bleeding, the sheet has a new toughness and strength fully reminiscent of parchment. If hand burnished with a polished stone, the manifestation of 'imitation parchment' is complete.

And yet we have no written testimony detailing papermaking techniques of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and nothing that suggests the paper makers were, indeed, working hard to capture the parchment market. Furthermore, I do not have the language skills or the traditional archives research experience that would let me decipher the written record even if such written records were available. So what is the modern paper historian / practitioner to do in the quest to physically emulate early materials and workmanship during the production of new handmade paper intended for use in rare book and art conservation?

Research on Historical Papers

My investigations of hand papermaking techniques took a major turn when I received a Fulbright fellowship and renewal that funded field research in

[4] R. REED, *Ancient Skins, Parchment and Leathers* (London and New York, 1972).

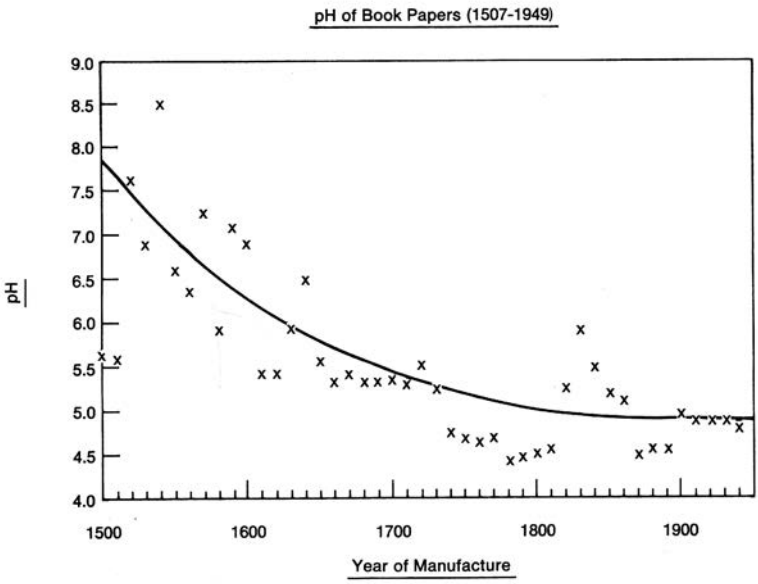


Fig. 7: Graph of pH. From *Permanence/Durability of the Book* 7, *Physical and Chemical Properties of Book Papers, 1507-1949, W.J. Barrow Research Laboratory* (Richmond, VA, 1974).

Japan. When I returned in the fall of 1977, my interest in papers produced in Germany and Italy in the fifteenth century began to grow. The best, I found, were still exceptionally white, supple, strong, and possessed of an integrity, an authenticity and character I found totally lacking in modern handmades. But unlike the situation in Japan, where older craftspeople could still recount older methods no longer or rarely practised, many of the techniques employed to make the old European sheets had gone out of use centuries earlier. I was stumped and unsure of how to proceed.

And then I discovered the work of William Barrow, a document restorer turned researcher. Like many of his librarian colleagues, Barrow was troubled by a persistent question: why were so many recently made papers browned and falling apart, when papers made 500 years earlier were still in exceptional condition? How could that be? Barrow set out to find the answers. With re-

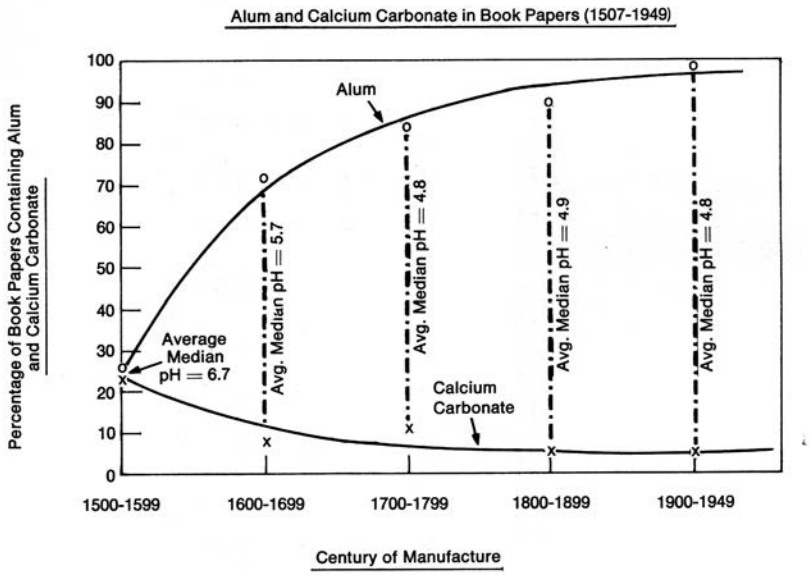


Fig. 8: Graph of alum and carbonate incidence. From *Permanence/Durability of the Book* 7, *Physical and Chemical Properties of Book Papers, 1507-1949, W.J. Barrow Research Laboratory* (Richmond, VA, 1974).

search funding from the Council on Library Resources in 1974 the William Barrow Laboratory published the results of a pioneering analysis of 1500 book papers made between 1507 and 1950.[5] The data effectively rewrote our understanding of paper stability and paper history at the same time. Two of the Barrow labs graphs appear here. In the first (fig. 7), the change in pH over the centuries is shown. Today we take the wisdom of publishing important works on 'acid free' paper almost for granted, but this graph confirmed early suspicions that an alkaline pH was key to long term stability. But why the big change in pH? The second Barrow graph (fig. 8) gives a likely explanation. By monitoring the incidence (not the quantity) of alum and carbonate, it appears more and more alum was added over the centuries contributing to the decline

[5] *Permanence/Durability of the Book* 7, *Physical and Chemical Properties of Book Papers, 1507-1949, W.J. Barrow Research Laboratory* (Richmond, VA, 1974)

in pH. Carbonate, which would have helped keep the paper more alkaline, was apparently added (or got into the paper from the water supply) less and less.

I was thoroughly impressed with these graphs. In them the Barrow team showed that when early craftspeople did not write down any details about their materials or techniques, *the paper itself* can reveal a great deal of information about how it was made. I was stunned. I felt like I had discovered a magic doorway, a portal into the past.

It would have been 30 years ago when I first became aware of Barrow's work. Soon afterward, in the early 1980s I was able to undertake some related research funded by the NEA Museums Program and the Kress Foundation. In it I attempted to look back further in time, by analysing more historical papers including some papers from the fifteenth century.[6] Although I was able to work with only 160 specimens, my work confirmed much of the Barrow Lab's findings about pH and added some new tantalising bits. I found fibre length dropped off over the centuries and was generally shorter in papers in better present day condition compared with poorer papers. The latter observation I attributed to more tender rags and / or increased stamper or beater time used by mill masters to get better formation quality in the higher quality sheets they were making. Poorer quality papers on the other hand, most likely were made with tougher mixed quality rags, and received less beating time to keep the paper cheaper.

But the work came up short of a full explanation for me. Questions persisted about the exceptional quality and character of the very early sheets. So for more than two decades I have wanted to do what the Barrow Lab did, but go back further in time, well into the fifteenth century when some of the best papers were made, and analyse hundreds where the Barrow team tested none (fifteenth century) or few (45 in the sixteenth century and 171 in the seventeenth century). Why didn't the Barrow Lab do this to begin with? The answer is that all of their testing was destructive, and paper from the earlier dates is too valuable for destructive testing beyond small and micro sampling from very limited numbers of loose leaves.

[6] T. BARRETT, "Early European papers, contemporary conservation papers: A report on research undertaken from Fall 1984 through Fall 1987", *The Paper Conservator* 13 (1989), pp. 1-108.

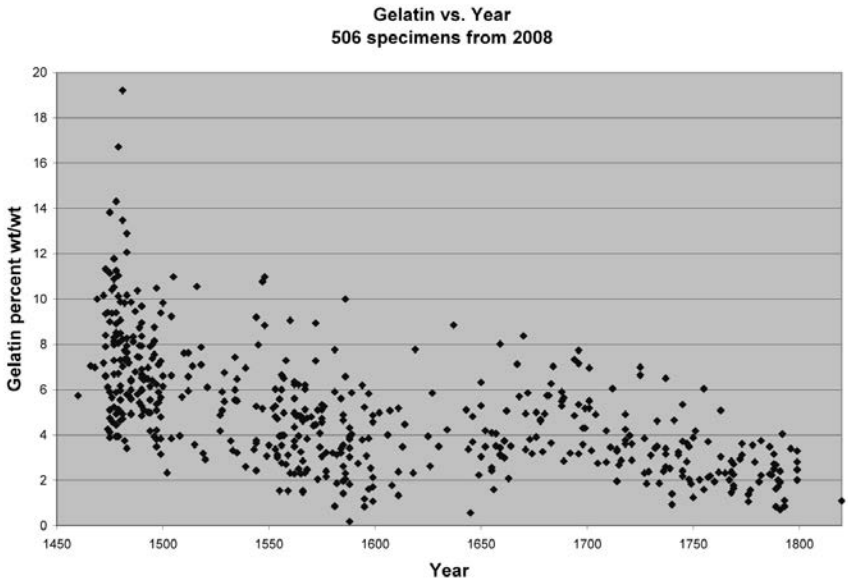


Fig. 9: Gelatin size concentration in historical paper specimens determined using non-destructive NIR instrumentation. Plot of Barrett data by Mark Ormsby, National Archives and Records Administration.

So the secret to doing this work has rested in developing a range of non-destructive methods for testing paper. After many years of work and the generous support of colleagues at other institutions,[7] together with funding from the Kress Foundation, the University of Iowa, and a major grant from the Institute for Museum and Library Services, I am now engaged in just such a study.

Some of the early results are shown in fig. 9 where the gelatin concentration in 159 papers made between 1460 and 1791 is shown. With few exceptions, the 86 papers from 1460 to 1499 were in excellent condition. They contained an average 8.2% gelatin. The 73 papers made after 1500 were in a range of condition from excellent to poor and contained an average 3.5% gelatin.

In order to be more confident that the apparent decline in gelatin concentration is representative of what actually happened between the fifteenth and

[7] Collaborative efforts include work with staff at the Getty Conservation Institute, the Library of Congress Research and Testing Division, the Art Conservation Research Center at Carnegie Mellon University, and the National Archives and Records Administration, Preservation Programs, Document Conservation Division, Research and Testing Laboratory.

the eighteenth centuries the new analysis of many more specimens is paramount. Like the Barrow Lab, we are in the process of analysing about 1500 specimens, but the emphasis will be on the earlier dates.

The 1300-1900 period was chosen for study because 1300 marks the introduction of gelatin size in Europe and around 1800 rosin and alum internal sizing began to replace it. Approximately 200 specimens from the nineteenth century will be included, however, to assess the decline in gelatin use after the invention of rosin and alum size. Actual breakdown in the two study sets is shown below.

SPECIMEN SET	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	TOTAL
Barrow	0	0	45	171	250	500	500	1466
Barrett	5	360	350	330	250	200	0	1495

The non-destructive instrumentation we are using includes visible / near infrared (VIS-NIR) for % gelatin content, fibre strength, and colour, and x-ray fluorescence (XRF) for residual metals. Potassium, aluminum, and sulphur are important because they are indicative of alum concentration. Iron is a typical paper contaminant and calcium is likely associated with calcium carbonate, which can help keep the paper alkaline.

Observations of the early data we are gathering suggest that the papers that are still light in colour and stable contain higher levels of calcium and gelatin, and papers that are darker in colour have significantly lower levels of both components.[8]

My hope is that this sequel to the Barrow research will result in a new understanding of papermaking history that can directly influence conservators' assessments of item stability, and their decisions on storage, display, treatment, and preservation policy. The analysis methods and the data may also help in dating and placing artifacts on paper of unknown provenance or debated attribution. These and related methods might also be used in the analysis of medieval parchment or binding materials to help resolve scholarly questions.

[8] Concurrent with publication of this volume, full results of the research described in this essay are now available at the website 'Paper Through Time: Nondestructive Analysis of 14th- through 19th-century Papers', at paper.lib. uiowa.edu.

In Conclusion

If the Figure 9 trend is confirmed by data from the larger sample pool and we see that gelatin concentration in paper indeed dropped significantly after 1500, why would this be the case?

One possible explanation is that the data will confirm my hypothesis that European paper made prior to 1500 was designed to imitate parchment in its writing, handling, and working properties. As mentioned earlier, the only way to achieve these characteristics in paper made from old linen and hempen rags was with high levels of gelatin sizing. In short, we may have evidence of innovative fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commercial product development on the part of the paper makers. Doubtless, fairly heavy gelatin sizing persisted into the end of the fifteenth century out of tradition.

But after 1500 things changed quickly and it appears sizing concentration dropped off precipitously. Why? Printing on the old heavily-sized parchment-like writing paper was not easy. It took longer to dampen, and could still be resistant to the oil-based inks used by the printers, leaving a messy imprint. With the rapid spread of printing and increasing demand for printed books, it is almost certain there were requests from the printers to the paper makers to decrease sizing amounts to help the printing work go more quickly.[9] And less size almost certainly helped lower the cost of the paper. In fact, Szirmai argues that by the late fifteenth century, paper makers were supplying completely *unsized* paper to the printers and it was the binders who applied the size later.[10] Bookbinders may have gone to the trouble of this added step because the paper was otherwise too weak to withstand binding and end use by readers. In the end, the most important explanation for a large drop in gelatin concentration around 1500 is a changing perception that what was being offered for sale was no longer imitation parchment, but paper, an entirely different and cheaper material in its own right.

[9] L. FEBVRE and H.-J. MARTIN, *The Coming of the Book* (London, 1976; first published as *L'Apparition du Livre* (Paris, 1958)), pp. 29-44, provide a good overview of the role of paper in the rapid spread of printing in Europe.

[10] J.A. SZIRMAI, *The Archeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1999).

Afterword

In the spirit of the interdisciplinary nature of our seminar I offer below a few ideas for how scholars might consider utilising some of the alternative research methods described above. At risk of stating the obvious I would suggest:

1. Consider what material evidence, no matter how 'impossible' to obtain, would be revealing or even crucial to confirming your hypotheses about your manuscript or manuscripts of interest.
2. Consult with relevant artisanal specialists who are familiar with the materials and workmanship of your period and locale.
3. Consult with imaging and photography specialists and individuals with expertise in micro-sample destructive and nondestructive analysis methods.
4. Always try the simplest investigatory route first.

Material Quality of Medieval Bookbindings

GARY FROST

Our own perception of the physical qualities of the medieval book is obscured by our immersion in a flood of manufactured goods and a wasteland of their disposal. But it is a fact that scribes and book makers of the Middle Ages conveyed to us a conceptual and material witness of Antiquity and of their own times using a refined communication device.[1] If our own digital culture is to be conveyed forward we will also need such a legible, efficient, dependable, and self-authenticating device. For reliable transmission of knowledge across time and cultures, which technology, that of the medieval book or that of computer media, is more advanced?[2]

I will be describing the material qualities and actions of medieval bookbinding and will discuss a particular type of medieval bookbinding with wooden boards in the covers. There are other kinds of covers of medieval bookbindings, but wooden boards were typical and they are predominant among books that survive intact from that era. Wood was well adapted to cover books as they became larger, thicker, heavier, and squarer.[3]

[1] An excellent study of the advent of complex page layouts based on multiple columns and cross-reference enabled by a wider page shape is A. GRAFTON and M. WILLIAMS, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

[2] Is the threat of a 'digital dark age' apt? Aside from the intangibilities of online publication it is also possible that in today's flood of information we may be engendering a new, deliberate illiteracy. This deliberate illiteracy derives from the constant need for de-selection, disregard, and deletion of unwanted content.

[3] The vellum books of the Middle Ages were based on the quadrants of animal skins that yield a more square shaped page compared with the elongated half square of the folded papyrus sheet. To us both formats seem strange because we are more familiar with an intermediate rectangular shaped page imposed from sheets optimised by ergonomics of the paper mould.

The classical anatomy of wooden board bookbinding is somewhat confined to the Middle Ages.[4] Earlier book covers of late Antiquity are associated with cartonnage, or pasted sheets, of papyrus while book covers by the end of the wooden board era, beginning in the West in the mid-sixteenth century, are associated with pasteboard made from laminations of paper.

The wooden boards of medieval bookbindings were skilfully hewn from the quarter cuts of fine beech and oak timber or possibly nut tree wood. These wooden boards were covered with materials of exquisite quality including fine textiles and supple and snowy-coloured tawed skins.[5] We can add to this the elaborate embroidery of endbands, engraved metal work, ornamental markers and index buttons and, perhaps, a velvet or damask chemise. And everyone remarks on the leather chemise over-covering of the girdle book.[6] Exceptional bookbindings were mounted with rare stones and ivory miniatures. All these embellishments were built on the wooden board binding.

A particular sewing method is also associated with the wooden board book cover of the Middle Ages. Here another divide occurred at the beginning of the ninth century between earlier text sewing using thread alone and a new practice of sewing quires onto supporting components. While unsupported, thread only, sewing persisted in Byzantium, in the Eastern Church, and in the Islamic world, the Western European medieval binding adopted the method of sewing onto supports of stout flax cords or thick skin thongs and lacing these supports through pathways into strong wooden cover boards.

All this extra construction was needed. Medieval books were larger, thicker, and heavier than the portable, travelling papyrus codices of late Antiquity. They frequently gathered numerous works by a single author or extensive collections of commentary, scripture or exposition, and they were secured

[4] The standard reference for Western medieval binding as well as for its precursors and parallel traditions is J.A. SZIRMAI, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1999). Three types of Western medieval wooden boarded bindings are described in detail: the Carolingian, the Romanesque, and the Gothic. The sector of bookbinding history from 500 to 1500 is exceptionally rich in innovation and diversity.

[5] Many variations of cured skin were known including hybrids between tawed skin and parchment. The tawed pig skins associated with later Gothic book covering must have been thinned with scraping techniques. Their current golden colour and buttery sheen is a patina of handling and long storage.

[6] For an excellent study of chemise bookbindings, see F. BEARMAN, "The origins and significance of two late medieval textile chemise bookbindings in the Walters Art Gallery", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996), pp. 163-187.

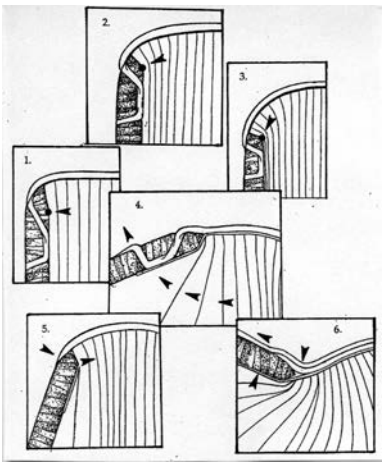


Fig. 1: Vectors of the Parabola.

in churches and monastic libraries as service or reference volumes where they had a fixed location on lecterns, in chests or cabinets. Many were liturgical objects.

So to answer the question, "What are medieval bookbindings?", we can say that they are reliquaries or microcosms of the past. Crafts of needle work and weaving, metal work, skin curing and wood working are exemplified by the medieval bookbinding. While most medieval books survive only in later rebindings, the few still in their original bindings illustrate the expanse and technique of the expert crafts of the Western Middle Ages.

But how do medieval bookbindings work? The motion derived from leverage of the board transmitted to the text produces a gymnastic action. Variation of sewing supports, stitch patterns, lacing paths, and adhered panel linings and other structural features determine the durability, efficiency, and haptic influence of this transmission of board leverage.

While control of transmission of board leverage is managed with different success across the span of wooden board work, one culmination of improved control is a shoulder-seated board. The ideal of the shoulder-seated board inducing a 'drawn on' shape to the text back deserves recognition on its own. A principle, following from the sewing patterns and the accumulated thread swelling, encompasses three interlocking vectors. As swelling increases the round of the back deepens, the angle of the shoulder to the page plane increases, while the height of the shoulder from the seat to the endpaper fold diminishes. As swelling decreases the convex shape of the back flattens, the angle of the shoulder to the page plane diminishes, but the length of the shoulder from seat to endpaper fold increases (see illustration). The demonstration of these interlocking vectors is a continuous gradation of parabolas that accommodates each distinctive sewing of each book.

The medieval wooden board binding also has relatively heavy sewing supports and strong covering skins that cause the board to move off the shoulder on opening. This action must be accommodated and controlled through effective adhesion of panel linings. These back linings were put down on the

inside of the board, and are primary actors in the opening motion. Their materials, fit, and adhesion need close attention. The lining tongues begin transmission in the first few degrees of opening and continue to open the book fully without swinging the board beyond ninety degrees. The following action is mostly distributed to the arching of the text back and to drape among the leaves.

In transmission of the leverage of closing the laced sewing supports, laced endband cores and covering skin are main actors. Here the last few degrees of motion are critical. At the end of the closing motion great compressive force can be applied via the outer bevel of the board. This sudden, clamping action drives the inner bevel against the shoulder and drives the board against the text, expelling air from the leaves, locking up the shape of the back and transforming the whole book into a solid geometry. At that moment, with the covers held closed, the clasps are tripped into place.

The elegant parabola of the shape of the book back induced by the closing leverage of the wooden boards is among the most wonderful achievements of the art of the book. The complement is a graceful arching of the book on opening. Miraculously such a dynamic mobility conveys directly from the handling of a book by the medieval reader to a similar handling today by a modern scholar. The manipulation and mystery of both scenes is conveyed by the same medieval bookbinding.

How have a few medieval bookbindings miraculously survived? This is a mixed story. The medieval book is an exemplar of a timeless composite of materials. While all the components are biodegradable, in the absence of dampness or outright abuse, the entire book is admirably stable. Alkaline state is characteristic of both tawed skin and parchment, but surviving medieval books have not survived by chemical buffering alone.

Each surviving medieval bookbinding also represents a rather improbable sequence of protective decisions taken across dozens of generations. This repeated commitment could have been broken by a single lapse, but that string of deliberate or inadvertent preservation actions is the real reason that medieval bookbindings have lasted so long.

Many medieval books have been destroyed completely. Targeting and purging of libraries occurs into the present while the overall devastation of natural disaster is a constant. Another layer of loss is rebinding and the revamping of medieval bookbindings to reflect decorative styles of a later period.

Another subtle yet invasive threat to all types of material culture that evokes a performance model of medieval bookbinding has just recently emerged. This is the imaging of artifacts and their presentation as online surrogates. Many justifications and many attractions encourage such digitisation and only isolated anxiety is expressed over the continuing role of originals in the context of their screen delivery. Likewise, little anxiety is expressed as physical book collections as a whole recede in status both for leisure and research reading. Only passing nostalgia for the book is typically considered, without serious thought given to any attributes of the codex that cannot be supplanted by screen reading.

What are material attributes exemplified by the medieval book still relevant today?

- *Navigation*: This is the attribute of haptic communication in which the manipulation of the mechanical format conveys additional meaning without distracting comprehension of content. Primate dexterity and a deeply embedded capacity for hands to prompt the mind are fully optimised by the codex mechanism.
- *Legibility*: There is nothing more illegible than a black screen. Network loading and interruption, application, device and platform incompatibilities, battery drain, and power requirements impair screen display. Browser default line length and justification distortions reach extremes of illegibility. The physical page is immediately presented and interfaced by the reader alone.
- *Persistence*: The physical book is passively persistent and provides both storage and display functions in a single manifestation. Screen resources decouple storage and display compounding costs and delivery complexity. Screen persistence is not assured due to content decay and mutability, provider interventions or demise and multiple media, software and hardware obsolescence. Fail-safe, unencoded eye readability is an attribute of the material codex.
- *Authentication*: The physical book is self-authenticating with a capacity to sustain continued forensic and bibliographic investigation. Print content and its material presence is inherently immutable.
- *Constraint*: The constraints of the physical book are attributes. Constraints of design, letter form convention, parchment or papermaking, and binding assure efficient delivery to readers. Assured re-reading across time and cultures provides research validity and advance.
- *Overtness*: With the content of the physical book you can confirm what is there and you can confirm what is not there. Such findings are repeatable and stable as multiple works are compared. There is also an overt physical existence of the conceptual work that provides continuing confirmation of its own existence and its own disposition among other shelved books.

- *Space*: Physical books require physical space. Such a prerequisite is not that different from prerequisites of screen reading for electricity, device display, and connectivity. Deny prerequisites and the medium is silenced. How can space be a positive attribute? At one extreme the book is worn as a devotional amulet in a space next to the body and on another occasion it is situated in a niche space within the shelves of a library. Both such situated spaces add meaning to the conceptual work.

False choices of either / or obscure the promise of an integrated merge of interdependent attributes of screen and codex reading and research. What can a surviving medieval book possibly convey to us in today's world of reading from the screen? Perhaps the medieval book is even more important in the age of Google and physical books are more important in an era of reading from the screen.

The medieval book exemplifies the reliable transmission of knowledge across time and cultures. Popular commentary warns that we may be entering a 'digital dark ages' where computer media fail to convey forward massive amounts of new knowledge. If medieval craftspeople could achieve the production of the medieval book, can we accomplish as much for reliable transmission using our own technologies? Can online resources be conveyed to distant future readers? At present, the preservation of digital resources and their conflicted authentication remains a major challenge.

Here then is a lesson we can take from medieval culture. They lived in a time when society was largely illiterate and most transactions and communications were non-verbal or spoken. To convey knowledge forward and assure its future readability over the long term they used a medium that was readable by eye, interfaced by the reader alone, and physically accessed by direct manipulation. This paradox of the conveyance of conceptual works by physical objects was, somehow, better understood then than it is now. Can we learn from this medieval insight how we can convey our own cosmographies from a digital culture?

The East-West, Then-Now Binding Nexus

ELSI VASSDAL ELLIS

The book is one of the defining artifacts of the Middle Ages. As a survivor of a material culture, the book is much more than a vehicle for protecting and transmitting text and / or images. Books also provide clues about the materials available and valued, and the technological circumstances under which they were created and used. The endearing qualities of the book revolve around its materiality and multisensory experience of the matter. It is a tactile, kinaesthetic, olfactory, auditory, and visual object, requiring interaction by the reader with its multiple and sequential planes. Depending upon the size of the book it may also be a very personal, intimate medium. Bookmaking is a craft requiring the collaboration of many craftsmen, artisans and authors to produce finished objects. Clarkson noted that "the development of bookbinding is so full of informed variations and possibilities in both structure and choice of materials that it reflects a complete sociological and technological history from the first century to the present day".[1]

The primary matter for medieval books included wood, parchment, leather, ivory, precious metals, enamels, stones, gems, and pearls – not necessarily all combined in a single book. The materials used were not simply functional. They also gave meaning to the object, reinforcing the message of the book. Wood board covers referenced the cross of Christ. Parchment, upon which the Word was written, represented the flesh of Christ. This connection was noted by Hrabanus Maurus, and became a repeated trope throughout the Middle

[1] C. CLARKSON, "The conservation of early books in codex form: A personal approach: Part I", *The Paper Conservator* 3 (1978), pp. 33-50, at p. 34.

Ages.[2] Smooth and creamy ivory had many layers of value and meaning in the Christian world. As a prized material, it conveyed luxuriousness, a quality it acquired in Antiquity. It also retained its political connotations to Roman imperial service because of its historical use.[3] Its fleshy qualities, whether natural or polychrome or detailed in gold, served to represent the body of Christ.[4] The precious metals of gold and silver, and the enamel, stones, gems, and pearls assaulted the senses with their brilliance and preciousness, symbolising sacredness, the glory of God, eternal life, and Heaven.

A quick survey of books reproduced in art and historical texts might lead one to assume that the majority of documents produced during this extensive period were colourfully illuminated manuscripts housed in treasure or luxury bindings such as the eighth- and ninth-century Lindau Gospels, The Gospels of Otto III and the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram. Snyder concluded his section on Carolingian book illustration with the disclaimer that "not all Carolingian manuscripts were luxurious or sumptuous as court productions".[5] He noted that herbals, astronomical treatises, calendars, chronicles, and commentaries also served the monasteries but in humble, less ambitious illustrative styles. Snyder did not discuss medieval bindings, let alone non-luxury bindings in his text. He did, however, include reproductions of several covers, most of them luxury bindings. One of the few non-luxury bindings reproduced in his book is the unique St. Cuthbert Gospel of John, the earliest known full leather bound book in Europe.

What we know about the structure of medieval bindings begins with the work of scholars such as Theodor Gottlieb, Ernst Philip Goldschmidt, Karl Christ, Theodore C. Petersen, Graham Pollard as well as the published observations of bookbinders, conservators, and book restorers such as Paul Adam, Berthe van Regemorter, and G.D. Hobson, Howard Nixon, and Roger Powell.[6]

[2] J. HAMBURGER, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 178-180.

[3] R.G. CALKINS, *Monuments of Medieval Art* (Ithaca, 1979), p. 115.

[4] A. CUTLER, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th-11th Centuries)* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), pp. 227-38; D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, "The polychrome decoration of Gothic ivories", in: *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. P. BARNET (Princeton, 1997), pp. 46-61; H. STAHL, "Narrative structure and content in some Gothic ivories of the Life of Christ", in: *Images of Ivory*, pp. 95-114.

[5] J. SNYDER, H. LUTTIKHUIZEN, and D. VERKERK, *Snyder's Medieval Art*, 2nd edn. (Upper Saddle River, 2006), p. 184.

[6] For further details, see the bibliography in J.A. SZIRMAI, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1999).

Much of the earlier binding scholarship focused upon the decorative covers, identifying and analysing the techniques and materials employed. Many of the early hypotheses concerning book structures were flawed. Incorrect interpretations of binding techniques were made in the early research, especially when the bindings were still intact and X-rays were used to determine cord lacing techniques.[7]

Binding scholars have always faced significant challenges in documenting and analysing medieval structures. The probability of an original binding surviving intact with the manuscript has been reduced by several factors: normal and abusive usage, storage conditions, environmental factors, archival qualities of the material, and modernisation. Many of the materials and techniques used in the early bindings were quite resilient but could not hold up to the changes in personal taste. Modernisation programmes began in the fourteenth century when eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts housed in monastic collections underwent rebinding or a wardrobe change. When a book was rebound in the fourteenth century no consideration was given to the preservation of the original materials – unlike Islamic and Hebrew patterns of preserving worn-out religious book matter. The preservation of the pieces of earlier Islamic and Hebrew books took place because the material itself was considered sacred because of its use. You simply did not discard the covers to a Qur'an or toss away a scrap of the Torah. A large number of Hebrew biblical manuscript fragments were discovered in 1896 by Solomon Schechter, an American Talmudist and educator, in the Cairo Genizah (secret storage site for Hebrew books and book remnants) located in the attic of the ninth-century Ezra Synagogue.[8] The remains of 175 Qur'an covers were found by Georges Marçais and Louis Poinssot in a storeroom of the Grand Mosque of Kairouan, Tunisia, in the early 1940s. They date between the ninth and thirteenth centuries and the focus of the scholarship concerning this find has been limited to the surface decoration.[9] Manuscripts and 95 covers were found in a ceiling space of the Great Mosque of Sana'a, Yemen, in 1972; they date from the first five centu-

[7] C. CLARKSON, "Further studies in Anglo-Saxon and Norman bookbinding: Board attachment methods re-examined", in: *Roger Powell, The Compleat Binder: Liber Amicorum*, ed. J.L. SHARPE (Turnhout, 1996: *Bibliologia* 14), pp. 154-214.

[8] M. OLMERT, *The Smithsonian Book of Books* (Washington, DC, 1992), p. 45.

[9] G. MARÇAIS and L. POINSSOT, *Objets Kairouanais IXe au XIIIe siècle: Reliures, Verreries, Cuivres et Bronzes, Bijoux* (Tunis, 1948: *Notes and Documents [published by the] Direction des Antiquités et Arts* XI.1).

ries of Islam. Much of the work published about Sana'a has been by paper conservator and independent researcher Ursula Dreibholz.[10]

Scholars studying Islamic binding history and techniques have available two translated Arabic texts describing early bookbinding techniques. The earliest translated text is the *Book of the Staff of the Scribes and Implements of the Discerning [...] and Details of Bookbinding* from AD 1025.[11] The second source, the manual *Art of Bookbinding and of Gilding*, was completed by Abu l'Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Sufyani in 1619.[12] A third Arabic text on bookbinding has yet to be translated: the *Art of Bookbinding* written between 1185 and 1198 by Bakr al-Ishbili, a Seville bookbinder.[13] The descriptions of bindings and techniques in the translated resources have been supported by the evidence of the two major discoveries of historical Islamic bindings. Equivalent Western medieval manuals have yet to be discovered.

The reuse or discarding of book matter during the Middle Ages does not imply that books were not revered by Christians. Christian mosaics, paintings, sculpture, and book covers depicted Christ, the evangelists, saints, and Church fathers respectfully holding the Gospels with their hands covered by sleeves or robes. Western medieval craftsmen, however, had a strong tradition of recycling ideas and materials. Spolia had served Constantine as a means to insert Christianity into the succession of Roman history, connecting the old with the new, the past with the present.[14] It symbolically legitimised his authority and rule. A striking example of spolia is found in the Lothar Cross in Aachen. Dated to *c.* 973-982, the cross has incorporated into it a cameo of Augustus to remind the viewer that he was the emperor at Christ's birth, thereby establishing a direct link between Rome and Christianity. Small Byzantine and other ivories were reframed in treasure bindings, such as the Crucifixion and the

[10] For example, U. DREIBHOLZ, *Frühe Koranfragmente aus der Grossen Moschee in Sanaa* (Yemen, 2003).

[11] See M. LEVEY, "Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* new series 52 (1962), pp. 1-79.

[12] See G. BOSCH and G. PETHERBRIDGE, "The materials, techniques and structures of Islamic bookmaking", in: *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking,* ed. G. BOSCH, J. CARSWELL, and G. PETHERBRIDGE (Chicago, 1981), pp. 23-84.

[13] For a detailed summary of the text see A. GACEK, "Arabic bookmaking and terminology as portrayed by Bakr al-Ishbili in his 'Kitab al-taysir fi sina'at al-tasfir", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990-1991), pp. 106-13.

[14] B. BRENK, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus ideology", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 103-109.

Holy Women at the Sepulchre (*c.* 870) set into the cover of a Book of Pericopes executed for King Henry II before 1014. What was old became new. What was East became West.

The recycling of book matter was contemporary to the making of the manuscripts themselves. Some of the recycling involved the practical reuse of books considered obsolete. Wood cover boards could be removed, reshaped, and reused on a new book block. Parchment could be scraped and reused for a new manuscript, the palimpsest or *codex rescriptus*. Parchment leaves could also be used to make pasteboards, endsheets or wrappers (limp vellum bindings usually attached to the book block via tackets or tapes), line spines, and reinforce sewing folds of folios. During periods of religious reform or even political upheaval, large quantities of obsolete manuscripts were released into the secondhand book trade. The flooding of the market with manuscripts increased the probability of the repurposing of the materials, especially parchment.[15] Today's conservationists are well aware of the extent of recycled manuscripts as binding components. Treasures are often discovered, if only in tantalising bits, when a surviving book is in need of repair.

This recycling practice continued into the twentieth century with the soul of the book transformed to the body or skin of a book. One such example is the hand-coloured facsimile of Anton Sorg's 1490 *Ars memorativa*, published in Augsburg in 1922. It was bound in vellum wrappers formed of leaves from the Seitenstetten Antiphoner, written in Prague around 1405, probably for a royal chapel of Wenceslas IV, King of Bohemia. The manuscript was once one of the major illuminated manuscripts of its period. It disappeared during the Hussite uprisings in Prague in the 1420s but survived for centuries in Benedictine abbey of Seitenstetten in lower Austria, about 220 miles south of Prague. This antiphoner and other books in the abbey's collection were sold around 1920 due to a financial crisis. The 255 leaves of the manuscript were cut up; the miniatures sold individually. Dismembered illuminated leaves from the antiphoner are housed in the National Gallery, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and elsewhere. There was no viable market for the remaining leaves and they became waste vellum. The Quaritch *Ars memorativa* required at least 50 leaves to bind the edition. Leaves not repurposed for binding were used to make desk sets and document folders.[16]

[15] C. DE HAMEL, "Single leaves", *Caxtonian* 13 (2005), pp. 5-10.

[16] C. DE HAMEL, "Medieval manuscript leaves as publishers' wrappers in the 1920s", in:

The first debates regarding book preservation versus restoration began during the Arts and Crafts Movement in late nineteenth-century England. Among those promoting an anti-restoration or conservation position were William Blades, William Morris, and John Ruskin. The preservation pioneer Blades published in 1880 *The Enemies of Books*, in which he presented his case for preservation over restoration of old books.[17] He promoted the production of cases to house well-worn books so the original covers could be retained but the volumes remained accessible. A more influential voice promoting the preservation of historical relics was that of William Morris. He called for passive preservation of England's medieval churches in the wake of the overzealous architectural restorations of the buildings to their "'former state', or, at any rate, in some 'former state' imagined by themselves to be super-excellent".[18] Although his comments were directed to architectural preservation, they may also be interpreted to reflect his position on the treatment of historical books.

Attitudes concerning issues of restoration, conservation, and preservation were still in a state of flux in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries due primarily to differences in ideological positions and terminology definitions. Many original non-treasure medieval bindings still suffered in the hands of conservators who, in the process of restoring or rebinding a manuscript, failed to document or preserve the remnants of the original binding. As an example of the disdain of conservators for historical bindings, Szirmai points to a collection of twenty Carolingian bindings from the abbey of Reichenau. They escaped the rebinding plan in 1457 only to be destroyed in a restoration campaign in the 1970s.[19] The Hamuli volumes are another example of this problem. Acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1912 they were sent to the Vatican Library for repair and restoration by Franz Ehrle (later Cardinal Ehrle). Using a pair of desk scissors, Ehrle removed the original fragile bindings, resewed the book block onto tapes and put on new covers.[20] Original sewing evidence was completely destroyed in the restoration process.

For the Love of Binding: Studies in Bookbinding History Presented to Mirjam Foot, ed. D. PEARSON (Oxford, 2000), pp. 9-11.

[17] W. BLADES, *The Enemies of Books* (London, 1880), often reissued.

[18] W. MORRIS, letter to the *Athenaeum* (7 April 1877), on the Tewkesbury Minster restoration.

[19] SZIRMAI, *Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, p. 101.

[20] P. NEEDHAM, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400-1600* (New York, 1979), pp. 12-13.

Fortunately, there has been a change in attitude about the art and craft of binding by scholars, conservators, and book artists. This changed attitude concerning restoration practices of historical bindings began with the work of Douglas Cockerell and his restoration of the Codex Sinaiticus, completed in 1935 shortly before Roger Powell joined him, and Powell's own restoration projects. Powell began his binding career as an apprentice to Douglas Cockerell, considered to be one of the most influential English bookbinding instructors. (Cockerell's own apprenticeship began in 1893 in the Doves Bindery founded by Thomas Cobden-Sanderson, one of the pioneers of the Arts and Crafts Movement.) Some of the first restoration work Powell did included the Book of Kells (1953), the Book of Durrow (1954), the Book of Armagh and the Book of Dimma (1956-1957), the St. Chad Gospels for Lichfield Cathedral (1961-1962) and the sixth-century Catach of St. Columba (1980-1981). Powell kept meticulous records for each manuscript he repaired, beginning with a complete description of his examination of the book as it was dismantled. These reports were returned with the restored books serving not only to document the work and provide information for future restorations, but also to contribute to scholarship in the history of binding.[21]

The most significant factor in changing conservation and restoration practices was the Arno river flood of Florence on 4 November 1966. The many pre-sixteenth-century books housed in the many libraries suffered significant water damage. Roger Powell and his partner Peter Waters (a former apprentice) headed the British team sent to Florence to rescue books damaged by the flood. Powell spent three months on site, taking back to the workshop at Slade about a thousand books for repair. Waters continued to work on site until October 1967. Also joining the British team was Christopher Clarkson. He worked at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze and his experiences working with early sixteenth-century limp vellum structures led him to focus upon why the 400-year-old bindings could be restored to a remarkable condition after they had withstood the test of use, flood damage, and kiln drying. From 1967 to 1972, Clarkson continued his groundbreaking research on these structures, the materials, and their contemporary application. Clarkson completed his research report on binding structures and repair techniques through partial funding from Vernon Clapp of the Council of Library Resources. Unfortunately, *The Vellum*

[21] G. PETHERBRIDGE, "The Compleat Binder: The arts and crafts legacy of Roger Powell", in: *Roger Powell, The Compleat Binder*, pp. 34-56. G.A. GLAISTER, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 2nd edn. (New Castle, DE, 1996), p. 389.

Report was not published. He did, however, present his research at ICOM's fourth Triennial Meeting in Venice in 1975.[22] Michael Gullick, a former student of Clarkson, published the first edition of his research in 1985. Clarkson self-published a revised edition with a new introduction in 2005.[23]

The horror of the disaster put conservators in the spotlight and provided them with an unprecedented opportunity to examine book structures in greater and more precise detail while they also preserved and restored them. Out of this nightmare came an appreciation for the profession and a new standard of scholarship shared with conservators, book scholars, and artists through published reports. Not only did they establish a methodology for the analysis of binding materials and techniques and develop a more intimate understanding of binding processes, they also began exploring contemporary reinterpretations of these early historical structures for conservation as well as creative applications. It was also around this time that book arts emerged as an art form.

Artists began to explore the multiple images and page features of the book in the wake the sociocultural and technological changes that occurred in America following WW II. It was during the 1970s that book arts exploded as an art form. Walter Hamady of The Perishable Press noted that

> The Book as a structure is the Trojan Horse of Art – it is not feared by average people. It is a familiar form in the world, and average people will take it from you and examine it – whereas a painting, print, poem, sculpture – singly they will not.[24]

Artists embraced the opportunity to move beyond the limits of traditional art media, exploring alternative forms and media.

A significant contributor to this explosion was the rapid change in printing technology that occurred in the 1960s. Offset lithography replaced letterpress as the primary commercial printing medium. Marshall McLuhan observed that when a technology becomes obsolete, it becomes an art, and this applies to

[22] C. CLARKSON, "Limp vellum binding – and its potential as a conservation type structure for the rebinding of early printed books – a break with 19th and 20th century rebinding attitudes and practices", in: *ICOM Committee for Conservation 4th Triennial Meeting* (Venice, 1975), 3, pp. 1-15.

[23] C. CLARKSON, *Limp Vellum Binding – and its Potential as a Conservation Type Structure for the Rebinding of Early Printed Books – a Break with 19th and 20th Century Rebinding Attitudes and Practices*, reprinted with a new introduction and corrections (Oxford, 2005).

[24] W. HAMADY, "Off the hip", in: *80 Years Later*, ed. M.L. RITZENTHALER and P. SPITZMUELLER (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 27-28.

book production. The release of presses, type, and related equipment onto the market made the production of books more affordable, and it was not limited to letterpress technology. Offset presses were available in a range of sizes, and the small presses such as the Multilith models by Addressograph-Multigraph were affordable for those interested in exploring the new technology. Electrostatic printing was still in its infancy but also provided artists a means to produce multiple copies of their work. Not only did private and fine presses benefit from the technological changes to the printing industry, but those exploring the book as art gained access to the same technology to achieve different aesthetic goals. The terms private press and fine press are used to differentiate between related but different approaches to the printing arts, with the private press referencing the historical and technical roots of the typographic letterpress book. This group includes fine, private, and hobby press printers.[25] Fine presses were part of the book arts explosion in the mid-seventies, exploiting the technology of letterpress but with an aesthetic emphasis on producing books in response to contemporary social and cultural issues. The term 'artist's book' is an umbrella or catch-all term representing a diverse body of work, including but not limited to the book as object or sculpture, the book as performance, the book as installation, altered books, and any other permutation that is not private or fine press. According to Johanna Drucker, the 'not' is the essential key in defining what an artist's book is. She also positions the artist's book as "**the** [bold hers] quintessential twentieth-century artform".[26] There is no historical reference requirement for the artist's book although links to past traditions have been made post-production. There is also no single point of origin for the artist's book, a product of many genealogies and clusters of production and influence.

The book arts explosion also revived interest in the traditional arts of the book: fine printing, papermaking, binding, paper decoration (marbling and paste paper), type casting, relief forms of printmaking such as wood engraving and wood and linoleum cuts, and even calligraphy. It was no surprise when artist's books were criticised by those engaged in a more traditional approach to the book for their de-emphasis of the traditions of craft and the elevation of experimentation of the medium and its exploitation for self-expression. Book artists pursuing the elevation of the book as art did not always feel comfortable

[25] G. LANGE, "From where to where? Some abbreviated suspicions concerning postwar book arts movements", *Bookways* 15-16 (1995), pp. 60-68, at pp. 61-62.

[26] J. DRUCKER, *The Century of Artists' Books* (New York, 1995), p. 1.

with the eclectic and diverse art community, concerned about the impact of the 'crafty hobbyists' upon the critical reception of work by book artists as art.

Such difference of opinion regarding the relationship of art and craft, however, did not suppress the continued interest in the book and fuelled a chain reaction resulting in a critical mass of artists, conservators, and hobbyists focused upon the book in some form or fashion. Suppliers found a market for decorative paper, book cloth and tools for binding, and printing. Part of this chain reaction includes the current development of tools and materials for the scrapbooking phenomenon (decorative printed patterns on archival paper, specialty scissors, brads, paints, punches, and rubber stamps). There must be something to book arts if Martha Stewart is involved.[27] Local, regional, national, and international exhibition opportunities for book arts continued to increase. Arts and crafts book publishers sought authors to meet the growing demand for 'how to' and mini-exhibition books in the book arts.

The book arts explosion also aroused the consciousness of a broader audience to the heritage of the book, its history, and the need for the protection of surviving books as cultural artifacts. Those interested in binding or conservation programmes were confronted by the lack of educational and internship opportunities. The traditions of the apprenticeship, both here and in Europe, had seemingly collapsed. Once there were specific standards and well-defined skill sets, craftsmanship and work habit expectations. It was through repetition and training that bookbinders were prepared for the needs of trade binderies and became able to handle the various stages of the binding process as part of a human binding assembly line. Today many of these hand bookbinding bench skills have been replaced by machines, and many trade binderies have closed down in the second half of the twentieth century. Sonnichsen summarised the state of fine hand bookbinding in the United States as "living on borrowed standards and styles".[28] There were no formal training programmes available for those interested in fine hand bookbinding in the United States. One would have to travel to Europe to receive training, either in the French, German or English fashion, or train with an American binder with European training. There were no guarantees regarding the quality of instruction because of the

[27] Craft tools and punches available from Martha Stewart that correspond to standard bookbinding tools include bone folder, cutting mat, scoring board, knife and rotary cutters, screw and hand punches, scissors, glue, paper trimmer, and ruler; http://shop.marthastewart.com/category/58390012521/1/Craft-Tools-and-Punches.htm.

[28] J. SONNICHSEN, "Bookbinding in the United States: Present and potential", *Fine Print* 13 (1987), pp. 169-171, at p. 169.

lack of established minimum standards or certification programmes for instructors. Although training genealogy is no guarantee of quality training, a survey of a binder's education and experience could provide some confidence in the technical expertise of a prospective mentor. Consider the following genealogy: Douglas Cockerell (1870-1945) is considered to be one of the most influential English bookbinding instructors. His apprenticeship began in 1893 in the Doves Bindery founded by Thomas Cobden-Sanderson, a pioneer of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Cockerell's son Sydney and Roger Powell apprenticed with him. Powell was later appointed Douglas Cockerell's successor at the Royal College of Art as bookbinding instructor (much to the disappointment of Sydney Cockerell). Powell took on Peter Waters, Nicholas Pickwoad, and Christopher Clarkson as apprentices. Peter Waters went on to hold major managerial positions in conservation. Pickwoad has served as Adviser to the National Trust on Book Conservation, adviser to the NADFAS Volunteer Conservation Corps library volunteers. Clarkson held conservation positions at the Library of Congress, the Walters Gallery in Baltimore, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. He also ran a postgraduate course at West Dean College, Sussex.

In 2004 Jeffrey Altepeter, current head of the Bookbinding programme at the North Bennet Street School and also a graduate of the programme, surveyed the educational, training, and apprenticeship programmes in binding in North America and noted that the educational and experiential path to follow to develop such skills were still not clearly marked.[29] The only full-time bench programme operating in the United States in 2004, according to Altepeter, was North Bennet Street School and it only accepted eight students per year.

But there were (and are) more opportunities. The University of Texas at Austin offers Preservation / Conservation Studies where students focus on the science and art of collections care to extend the life of materials in archives and libraries. The conservation programme is not a bookbinding training programme, but there is a lab sequence in book conservation with bookbinding fundamentals used as a tool of book conservation.

The American Academy of Bookbinding (AAB) in Telluride, Colorado was founded in 1993 by Tini and Einen Miura and Daniel Tucker. Under the direction of master binder Tini Miura, AAB offers a Diploma Program with the option of taking workshops independently to develop specific skills with an emphasis on the design and production of fine leather binding.

[29] J. ALTEPETER, "Bookbinding education in North America", *The Bonefolder: An e-Journal for the Bookbinder and Book Artist*, 1 (2004), pp. 4-9.

Both on the job training and internships may be the closest thing to the traditional apprenticeship of the past. Some independent binders offer private, highly personalised training opportunities. Demand fuelled the re-establishment of educational programmes such as the conservation programme at the Library of Congress, set up by Peter Waters. In such programmes, the student enters the internship with a basic skill set upon which to build, trading the desire to learn for an economic advantage for the company or organisation.

In the 1990s, many undergraduate and graduate programmes were founded, revived or enlarged. There are several programmes offering either a binding specialty or include binding as part of the MFA or graduate certificate. They include the University of Alabama, Columbia College Chicago Center for Book and Paper Arts, the University of Iowa Center for the Book, Arizona State University (through printmaking), and University of the Arts in Philadelphia.

Undergraduate programmes offer degrees, concentrations, and courses in the book arts. The University of Utah Book Arts Program at the J. Willard Marriott Library was established in 1995 in response to growing need for bookmaking opportunities in the Intermountain West. Mills College has a standalone undergraduate book arts focus with at least fifteen classes in book arts. Other institutions offering courses or programmes include the California College of the Arts, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, Corcoran College of Art and Design, Oregon College of Art and Craft, Wells College, Wellesley College, San Francisco Art Institute, School of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), Middle Tennessee State University, Smith College, and University of the Arts.

Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing in the 1970s, organisations were established that provided space and, in some cases, services for book artists. The Visual Studies Workshop (Rochester, New York) was established in 1969 as both a SUNY-Buffalo graduate programme and artists' space, complete with offset printing capabilities by 1972. Key players involved in the establishment of the VSW included Joan Lyons, Nathan Lyons, and Keith Smith. Michael Goodman, before leaving Atlanta for graduate school, was instrumental in establishing the Nexus Photographic Cooperative gallery in 1973. He returned to Atlanta to transform the Cooperative into Nexus Press, a collaborative offset press. Inspired by the work of Nathan Lyons at the Visual Studies Workshop, Goodman had attended printing trade school at night while studying in Chicago to develop the technical skills necessary to operate com-

mercial offset presses. Goodman directed the press until 1992. When he left, Jo Anne Paschall assumed responsibilities. Brad Freeman served as director until Nexus Press operations were suspended in 2003. Brad Freeman is currently the studio coordinator at the Columbia College Center for Book and Paper Arts.

Printed Matter (New York) was organised in 1976 by Sol Le Witt, Lucy Lippard, Pat Steir, and others as a non-profit distributor and a for-profit publisher of artists' books. Unable to keep up with the demands of the bookstore, it gave up publishing in 1979 and focused upon the selling of books on site and through the mail. Franklin Furnace (New York), also founded in 1976 by book and performance artist Martha Wilson in her New York City apartment, was also a bookstore and archive with an emphasis on serving as an archive. Pyramid Atlantic, founded in 1981 by Helen C. Frederick, is a contemporary arts centre supporting hand papermaking, printmaking, digital arts, and the art of the book. There are many more organisations and opportunities in the book arts than are identified here.

In the spirit of 'If you build it, they will come', the establishment of independent book arts centres has probably had the most significant impact upon igniting and sustaining the book arts explosion. The leading independent book arts centres are found in New York (The Center for Book Arts (CBA) – 1974), Minneapolis (Minnesota Center for Book Arts (MCBA) – 1984), and San Francisco (San Francisco Center for the Book (SFCB) – 1978). There are also local book arts groups and guilds modeled after the larger organisations and centres. The New York Center emerged first on the scene. Richard Minsky followed the advice of Abram Lerner, Director of The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum, that "If you want your books to be in museums, start an organisation to promote book art and you will get museum shows".[30] In 1974, the CBA opened in Manhattan on Bleecker Street near the Bowery as a print shop, bindery, and gallery. Today the New York CBA offers studio, workshop, and exhibition space in a new location on 28 West Twenty-seventh Street, Third floor. Minsky, craftsperson and iconoclast, established an inclusive community for anyone and everyone interested in book arts, from fine printers pursuing the printing of the perfect letterpress book to binders willing to examine the application of traditional skills and techniques in a new arena. Artists unable to invest resources into full-time educational programmes have combined the self-

[30] B. BRIGHT, *No Longer Innocent: Book Arts in America, 1960-1980* (New York, 2005), p. 153.

study approach: reading binding manuals, watching videos, taking workshops, and practice, practice, practice.

Outside the book arts centres are also found a wide range of educational opportunities. In Easthampton, Massachusetts, the Garage Annex School for Book Arts was established by Daniel Kelm as a centre for educational opportunities in the form of workshops and internships. Penland School of Crafts is a national centre for craft education located in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Western North Carolina. Penland offers one-, two-, and eight-week workshops in books and paper, clay, drawing, glass, iron, metals, photography, printmaking, textiles, and wood along with artists' residencies, educational outreach programmes, and a craft gallery. Asheville BookWorks in North Carolina is a community resource for print and book arts and offers a full spectrum of classes and workshops covering all aspects of book arts. Organisations such as The Guild of Book Workers and the Canadian Bookbinders and Book Artists Guild offer seminars and workshop opportunities at the regional and national levels along with exhibition opportunities. The Paper and Book Intensive (PBI) is a two-week retreat for practitioners and beginners to explore book arts, papermaking, and conservation. Two well-known conservators and book artists associated with PBI are Hedi Kyle, a founder of PBI, and Pamela Spitzmueller, who has served as one of its co-directors since 1991.

A significant problem facing all the organisations involved in the art of the book was the availability of teachers. Conservators soon found themselves in demand to teach binding courses and workshops. The educational background of these conservators is as varied as the books they create as book artists. Hedi Kyle (American Philosophical Society, retired) graduated from the Werk-Kunst Schule in Wiesbaden, Germany and began a career in graphic design before turning to conservation and book arts. Deborah Evetts (Pierpont Morgan Library, retired) was formally trained as a designer bookbinder under John Corderoy at Brighton College of Art and under William Matthews at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and worked for a short time for Roger Powell and Peter Waters. Pamela Spitzmueller (Harvard) completed a degree at the University of Illinois and began studying bookbinding in 1976 with Gary Frost. She also studied with William Anthony in Chicago, Anthony Cains, Director of Conservation at Trinity College, Dublin, Tom Albro and Barbara Meier-Husby at the Library of Congress, and Paul Banks. Gary Frost (University of Iowa) earned a BFA and MFA from the School of the Art Institute in Chicago and trained with Paul Banks at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Julia Miller

(University of Michigan, retired) completed a degree in archival administration and is also a bench-trained conservator. Martha Little (Yale University, University of Michigan, retired) began her training as a book conservator and bookbinder with Jane Greenfield and Roger Powell, the noted conservator of many manuscript treasures of the British Isles.

One of the more influential American internships in conservation was the one under the direction of William Anthony, first in Chicago as a commercial binder and then as conservator at the University of Iowa Libraries. Anthony began his traditional seven-year internship in bookbinding at Croker & Co. in Waterford, Ireland, when he was sixteen (1942). He worked as a journeyman to five production binderies in Ireland and England, further developing his binding efficiency and workmanship. His career as a teacher and mentor began when he was still a journeyman. He also studied design and fine binding at Camberwell College of Arts and the Sutton School of Arts, an unusual direction for a traditionally trained journeyman to take. It was the 1963 exhibition of a book he bound while working for F.G. Marshall's in London that led to the offer of director of the Art Department at the Cuneo Press in Chicago. He later became the director of the Fine Binding Studio.[31]

Anthony was also profoundly affected by the 1966 Arno river flood and the damage done to the libraries in Florence. He began to re-examine conservation practices and developed new preservation and conservation techniques. He also explored historical binding materials and techniques in search of ideal structures. Anthony left Cuneo in 1973 to work as a private conservator in partnership with Elizabeth Kner (Kner and Anthony). When she retired he continued the business as Anthony and Associates. His work for the Health Sciences Library led to his invitation in 1984 to establish the Conservation Department in the University of Iowa Libraries. He brought with him his apprentice of three years, Mark Esser. It was here that Anthony returned to his interest in historical structures. He and Esser began making models for use as educational tools and aids for students and apprentice conservators. They were first shown in the university museum in 1985 as part of the exhibit 'The Art and Craft of Bookbinding'. The sixty books in the exhibition exposed the audience to a visual history of the evolution of bookbinding spanning 2,000 years. In 1986 the models were also exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and soon all binding roads led to the University of Iowa.

[31] On Anthony, see *William Anthony: Fine Binder*, ed. L. YERKES (Iowa City, 2005).

Several historical models crafted by Anthony are currently housed in the University of Iowa Libraries Bookbinding Models Collection. They include two early limp-vellum account books, a tacketed early codex binding, two early medieval bindings with one uncovered and the other fully covered, a Northern Europe girdle binding, an Egyptian multi-quire codex patterned after the Glazier Codex, a Nag Hammadi binding, and two replicas of the St. Cuthbert Gospel of John listed as the Stonyhurst Gospel. Although he was not the only conservator exploring binding history, it was his teaching approach that led to the development of much of the talent currently teaching binding and his legacy continues through his former apprentices who pass on their skills to the next generation of binders, conservators, artists, and hobbyists.

Medieval bindings have been hot topics of interest in book arts workshops taught through various book arts centres and other venues since 2000. The interest in these historical structures is the result of several factors: 1) growing interest by conservators in the history of binding following the Florence flood; 2) access to models made by Anthony and Esser at the University of Iowa; 3) the historical training of binders through the University of Iowa programme, graduates of this and other programmes; and 4) the publication of binding research after the Florence flood culminating in the release of Szirmai's *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* in 1999. The medieval workshops offered thus far include wax tablets (Pamela Spitzmueller and Michael Burke), early Coptic structures such as the Nag Hammadi (Julia Miller and Michael Burke) and Glazier Codex (Julia Miller and Michael Burke), later Coptic bindings with blind tooled and cut leather covers (Shanna Leino), bare bone Coptic and Ethiopian bindings (Daniel Essig and too many others to name), long and linking stitch limp bindings (Pamela Spitzmueller), girdle bindings (Pamela Spitzmueller and Tanya Bolenz), authentic Gothic structure with quarter sawn oak boards, leather, bosses, and fore edge clasps (Jim Croft), an interpretive model of the Book of Armagh (Martha Little), and the St. Cuthbert Gospel of John (Jim Bloxam and Kristine Rose).

Although I have not really counted all the Coptic binding workshops offered in the United States annually, it would be safe to bet that a minimum of one workshop a month is offered somewhere following either a traditional model (bare boards or covered in leather) or a contemporary interpretation using polymer clay or board covered with decorative paper. The technique is also included in most 'how to' binding books on the market today. The Coptic binding has become part of nearly every binder's repertoire, regardless of pro-

fessional and skill level. The appeal of this structure is that the book lays flat when open, a quality most likely appreciated by early readers in the monasteries.

Enrolment in the historical binding workshops is a mixture of amateurs and professionals in keeping with the diversity of those interested in the art of the book. Most workshops set a limit of eight to twelve participants. There has been no published follow-up research to explore what the participants do with their historical models. The workshop experience may be an opportunity to bind for binding's sake. Conservators and private binders who engage in restoration work may take such workshops as a form of continuing education. The book artist may find inspiration in the structure, leading directly or indirectly to the use of the binding as a vehicle for a new book. The hobbyist has added another workshop to his or her collective experience and created a relic, of sorts. The educator leaves the workshop with a teaching model and basic experience that could be incorporated into a course. The model could be used to connect the students directly to a critical artifact of the medieval world. Not only is there an object to be held, opened, examined in detail without fear of its preciousness, the object has the potential of generating interest in the actual making of a medieval book rather than simply reading, looking, and talking about it within the seminar format.

Historical binding workshop offerings vary from year to year. The Nag Hammadi bindings have remained a popular workshop. Shanna Leino has taught workshops focused upon the late Coptic structure in full leather with either blind tooling or leather lace patterns since 2002. She has four historical models in the University of Iowa Bookbinding Model Collection: a late Coptic binding based on the Hamuli codices described by Szirmai,[32] a fourteenth-century Greek model and a seventeenth-century Armenian model, both based upon exemplars in the Goodspeed collection at the Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago. A Glazier Codex workshop offered at Hollander's on 29-30 March 2008 filled quickly and had a waiting list. In the fall of 2007, a St. Cuthbert Gospel of John workshop was offered for the first time by Cambridge University conservators Jim Bloxam and Kristine Rose. The New England Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers sponsored the three-day workshop at a cost of $450 for participants. The only prerequisite for the workshop was previous bookbinding experience, with Coptic sewing ability identified as desirable.

[32] SZIRMAI, *Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 32-44.

The St. Cuthbert Gospel of John stands alone in European binding history as the earliest surviving leather-bound codex structure discovered to date. It had survived Viking Raids and the Reformation of King Henry VIII, when it was put into the hands of an Oxford antiquary. In 1769 Lord Lichfield gave the book to the Jesuit College at Liège. After the French Revolution the Jesuit College was moved to Lancashire, becoming Stonyhurst College. The Gospel was lent in 1806 to the Society of Antiquaries by William Strickland, a Stonyhurst College administrator. In 1809 the book was noticed missing by the College and Strickland was asked to track it down. The book was returned and later loaned to the British Library, where it is housed today.[33]

The book is ground zero for the study of bookbinding history in the West, connecting the techniques of binding from the Mediterranean and Coptic Egypt with those of Northern Europe. Three striking features of the book are noted in the literature: 1) the remarkable preservation of the binding; 2) its size (138 × 92 mm or 5 and 7/16 × 3 and 5/8 inches); and 3) the red-brown colour of the leather. Powell describes the book as "a very satisfying little volume, as might be expected where leaves, boards, and cover are in scale with each other; the leaves not too thick, the boards neither thick and clumsy nor giving an impression of weakness, the decoration growing as a happy embellishment of the whole".[34]

As a medieval artifact, it has its own story, as do many medieval objects elevated to relic status. The book was preserved in the elaborate wooden shrine of the Northumbrian St. Cuthbert from perhaps 698, eleven years following his death, until it was removed in 1104, when Cuthbert's body was interred at the altar of Durham Cathedral. Because the book has no date, the internment date of the book serves as a baseline date for its completion. Questions have been raised concerning the veracity of this story. The coffin had been opened several times before St. Cuthbert was interred at Durham but no mention was made of the book until it was removed from the shrine in 1104. The binding, however, does not reflect twelfth-century binding techniques or leather.[35] The book could have been bound as late as the eighth century at Lindisfarne before placement in the coffin.[36]

[33] See the facsimile and introduction, *The Stonyhurst Gospel of Saint John*, ed. T.J. BROWN, with a technical description of the binding by R. POWELL and P. WATERS (Oxford, 1969).

[34] POWELL and WATERS, in: *The Stonyhurst Gospel of Saint John*, ed. BROWN, pp. 45-46.

[35] B. VAN REGEMORTER, "La reliure des manuscrits de S. Cuthbert et de S. Boniface", *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pp. 45-51, at pp. 46-47.

[36] M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London,

Cuthbert's shrine brought many pilgrims to the Lindisfarne monastery where it and the Lindisfarne Gospels were on display for about one hundred years. In 793 the island was sacked by Vikings. In 875 the monks fled to the mainland with the relics of St. Cuthbert and the Lindisfarne Gospels. A tale recorded by Symeon of Durham in the twelfth-century states that the monks planned to cross to Ireland, to follow their brothers who had fled Iona. A terrible storm came up just as they set sail. The Lindisfarne Gospels, bound in a treasure binding of gold and jewels, was washed overboard. The monks turned back and it was through the intervention of St. Cuthbert that they were led to the sands of the Solway estuary to retrieve the book. When the coffin of Cuthbert was opened in 1104 his remains were found incorrupt. The small book found in St. Cuthbert's coffin, most likely the St. Cuthbert Gospel of John, was raised by Bishop Flambard during the translation ceremony and presented to the audience. A story is told of a Durham monk who, following his impious tampering with the Gospel at the opening of the coffin, suffered terrible swellings.[37] There are parallels here to the opening of Charlemagne's tomb by Emperor Otto III in 1000 AD. Charlemagne's body was found nearly intact, fully clothed, and seated upon a chair. In one hand was his sceptre. He had a gold chain hanging from his neck. In his lap lay an illuminated manuscript now referred to as the Vienna Coronation Gospels.[38]

Burying books with the dead is rare within the Christian tradition and has its basis in the practices of ancient Egypt, when the deceased would be buried with a copy of the Book of the Dead. Coptic Christians may have continued this practice, as suggested by the discovery of a fourth- or fifth-century Coptic Psalter in the grave of a young Coptic girl at Al-Mudil, Egypt.[39] When Cuthbert's coffin was opened, the book, textiles, and a gold and garnet pectoral cross found were dated to the original deposition of Cuthbert. The cross and the book were acceptable iconoclast symbols from the orthodox Byzantine perspective. Once the book was removed from the coffin in the twelfth century, it was apparently ceremoniously hung around the neck of visiting dignitaries as a special honour, similar in concept to the Judaic tradition of wearing phylacteries (Deuteronomy 6:8). This type of practice had been condemned by Alcuin roughly 300 years earlier, when he criticised the Archbishop of Canterbury for

2003), p. 209.

[37] C. DE HAMEL, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1986), p. 38.

[38] DE HAMEL, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 42.

[39] J. KAMIL, "Coptic studies hold key to legacy", *Al-Ahram Weekly On-line* (22-28 May 2003), p. 639.

the wearing of "saint's bones and gospel texts" as talismans.[40] The book was apparently stored in a leather or linen pouch, in keeping with known satchels such as the fifteenth-century tooled leather satchel for the Book of Armagh and those described in contemporary commentary and literature.

The binding is a seamless blending of various styles and techniques. The sewing has been executed in the unsupported Coptic style resulting in a flexible book with a nearly flat opening when it was new. This technique was not limited to the Egyptian Christians but could be found throughout the Mediterranean. The Wearmouth / Jarrow library contained books imported from southern Italy, suggesting the availability of models to imitate. Just how and when the binding technique used for the Gospel arrived at Wearmouth / Jarrow or even Lindisfarne has not been established. There is considerable evidence of eastern influences in the British Isles at this time. Coptic-type bronze vessels from Egypt as well as copies of imported vessels have been found along trade routes from Italy, across the Alps, through the Rhine Valley to England. Some of these vessels have been found in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon graves.[41] Although travelling was somewhat risky during this period because of Viking raids and great distances to key cities such as Rome or Jerusalem, Coptic and Armenian monks travelled to Ireland and monks from the British Isles went out as missionaries to mainland Europe, and made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the Levant, and Egypt. They brought back with them artifacts and observations that naturally worked their way into the activities and ideas of fellow monks. Artwork and techniques suggest not just influence but some type of education or training to develop the skill level necessary to execute the binding, from sewing and board preparation to the application of leather to the boards. Avrin suggests that the cover of the St. Cuthbert Gospel may have been made by an emigrating Coptic bookbinder.[42] Coptic objects and continued artistic influences in England and elsewhere ended in the seventh century with the Arab conquest of Egypt.

Supported sewing was already employed in monastic binderies when the St. Cuthbert Gospel was produced. Its size was conducive to the use of an unsupported sewing style. The Lindisfarne Gospels, produced around 698, measured 13½ × 9¾ inches and required a stronger support for binding, even

[40] BROWN, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, p. 70.

[41] F. SAXL and R. WITTKOWER, *British Art and the Mediterranean* (London, 1948), Pls. 12-18.

[42] L. AVRIN, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991), p. 310.

though the binding does not survive. The sewing techniques of books became the distinguishing feature of bindings, separating eastern and western Christian structures, with the Coptic sewing style becoming the identifying feature of eastern Christian books. There is also a second book that shares structural qualities with the St. Cuthbert Gospel: the Cadmug Gospels preserved in the Landesbibliothek, Fulda.[43] Both Gospels are sewn in the Coptic style, are small in size with similar leather colour and type, and are decorated with coloured incised lines on the leather.

The red-brown goatskin exterior suggests Islamic influence because of qualities shared with the ninth-century covers discovered by Georges Marçais and Louis Poinssot in a storeroom of the Grand Mosque of Kairouan (Tunisia) in the early 1940s. Additional Islamic connections are illustrated on the upper cover of the Gospel. It features leatherwork paralleled in Egyptian pouch or saddle leatherwork as noted by Richard Ettinghausen.[44] Cords were laid out in a symmetrical eight loop vine scroll design on the cover board, thought at one time to refer to John 15:5 "I am the vine, ye are the branches". To achieve this effect the leather was most likely dampened, stretched over the board, and worked around the cord. The vine scroll design is similar to carpet page patterns found on early Coptic covers. The cover also has blind-tooled decoration around the central motif. The deeply scored lines of the decoration led some observers to mistake the depth of the scoring for incisions, and that the binding was the earliest example of *cuir ciselé*. The decorations on the upper and lower covers of the Gospel have been described by Stevick as "a visual primer of Insular design developed for the adornment of books".[45] His article may be of interest to binders and book artists exploring the art of geometry as applied to the design of book covers.

Additional evidence of leather binding outside Egypt is found in two sources: literature, specifically the letters of Cassiodorus at Vivarium in Calabria (*Institutiones divinarum et saecularium literarum*), and iconography. Unfortunately, there are no surviving binding manuals.

Cassiodorus is quoted as proof that some type of training programme existed for book binding:

[43] VAN REGEMORTER, "La reliure des manuscrits de S. Cuthbert et de S. Boniface".

[44] R. ETTINGHAUSEN, "Foundation-moulded Leatherwork – a rare Egyptian technique also used in Britain", in: *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Professor K.A.C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), pp. 63-71.

[45] R.D. STEVICK, "The St. Cuthbert Gospel binding and Insular design", *Artibus et Historiae* 8.15 (1987), pp. 9-19, at p. 9.

> We have supplied artisans, well trained in bookbinding, so that the beauty of the sacred writings should have a comely outward appearance – imitating, perhaps, the parable of Christ [Matthew 22:11] in which those worthy of invitation to the heavenly feast were closed in fine garments. For these artisans we have adequately pictured in a book many varieties of bindings, so that each may choose from it whatever style of covering pleases him.[46]

This statement could be interpreted to mean the application of ivory, jewels, enamel work, and precious metals to the binding, but an examination of miniatures in early manuscripts suggests that Cassiodorus was referring to leather covers similar to those depicted in the well-known miniature of Cassiodorus as the Old Testament prophet Ezra (f. 5r) in the Codex Amiatinus written and Wearmouth / Jarrow *c.* 700-716 under the direction of abbot Ceolfrid, who had brought to England a one-volume Bible from Vivarium. In this miniature a book cupboard is depicted with nine volumes of his commentated Bible laying flat on the shelves. They are a light reddish-brown in colour with head and / or tail ties. The covers are decorated in three styles: five with lozenges, one with a St. Andrew's cross (X-shaped), and one with a standard cross. The depiction suggests tooling techniques similar to those found on Egyptian Coptic covers. Coptic bindings dated to the same period, thus roughly contemporary with the depicted Vivarium Bible, had more complicated patterns on the covers. Should one expect a miniature painter to depict in 'photographic' detail the covers of the books or capture the basic essence of the scene? Needham noted "it is a curious chance that the earliest surviving European leather bookbinding should also come from Wearmouth and Jarrow, and be very nearly contemporary with the Codex Amiatinus".[47]

The St. Cuthbert Gospel also retains evidence of a temporary binding, suggesting that the Insular scribes first folded the leaves of the manuscript before they were ruled and that these gatherings had been loosely stitched together before they were formally bound upon completion. In each of the twelve quires forming the Gospel are pairs of unused sewing stations that could have served as temporary tacket stations. The tacket binding technique makes use of paired stations and strips of twisted leather or vellum. The interior of the quire will show a length of the stitching material; on the exterior of the folded quire the stitching material will be twisted together to form the temporary binding. St. Cuthbert and St. Boisil († *c.* 664) were described by Bede to have

[46] NEEDHAM, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings*, p. 55.
[47] NEEDHAM, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings*, p. 57.

read the Gospel of St. John one gathering a day. This suggests that, at least for some length of time, quires for some books were kept as separate units. Given the missionary objectives of the monks during this period, unbound books would be lighter in weight and easier to transport than fully bound books with wood boards. The examples of "*libri scottice scripti*" found at St. Gall, with nearly a third of the collection described as "*quaterno*" or "*in quaternionibus*", unbound, lend support to the practice of leaving books unbound with quires secured by use of tacket binding.[48] There is additional supportive evidence of tacket stitching as common practice found in a slightly later Northumbrian MS, the Cassel Bede at Fulda. It contains Books IV and V of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in the eighth century and was sent to Fulda to aid missionary efforts.

The unique St. Cuthbert Gospel of John provides all those engaged in book arts the opportunity to speculate upon the thought processes of medieval bookbinders in moving from unsupported to supported text blocks, the lacing of the text block into boards, the modification of the shape of the boards to minimise wear and tear on the supports and the external material. Although the body of the book (binding) has been separated from its soul (the manuscript), the intact cover and precise information concerning the techniques used by the binder or binders of the volume have been preserved for use by historians, binders, and artists in their pursuit of the history and evolution of the book. The materials and techniques employed in the creation of this Gospel survived intact with "a remarkable absence of damage from moisture in the boards, sewing, or leather".[49] The book speaks eloquently of the synthesis of aesthetics, techniques, and cultures in the evolution of the codex, which has not undergone any radical changes since the first sheets of papyrus were folded and tacked or sewn to form a quire or glued up to make boards. Some of the matter has changed, binding details have evolved, but the monk in the third or fourth century who bound the Gospel of Thomas in the single-quire Nag Hammadi style – or multi-quire Glazier Codex – would know how to interact with a twenty-first-century paperback produced on the Espresso Book Machine.

[48] DE HAMEL, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 38.

[49] R. POWELL, "The binding", in: *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. BATTISCOMBE (Oxford, 1956), pp. 362-74, at p. 363.

The Cistercian Manuscript, Trent 1711, Version One and Its Exemplar

CONSTANCE H. BERMAN

Trent 1711 is not a beautiful twelfth-century manuscript.[1] Its significance lies instead in its content, as an important witness to the creation of the Cistercian Order. Its provenance has been contested. Although it is known that it came to Trent in the early fourteenth century with the new bishop of that city, Henry of Metz, the best guess as to its origin is north of the Alps, when it was brought to his new see by the Cistercian bishop of Trent, Henry, who had been abbot of Eussertal, and then *c.* 1305 of Eussertal's mother house at Villers-Bettnach near Vigy in Alsace in the diocese of Metz.[2] Suggestions of an Italian provenance or influence, if there is either, relate to the liturgical provenance of its exemplar.[3] The scholar who has worked most on Trent 1711, Bruno Griesser, consulted the famous manuscript expert, Bernhard Bischoff, who confirmed its German provenance.[4] The provenance of the exemplar and possibly of its earlier version (which I have called Trent One) is most likely to

[1] MS Trento [Adige (Italia)], Bibliotheca comunale, 1711. See J. LECLERCQ, "Une ancienne rédaction des coutumes cisterciennes", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 47 (1952), pp. 172-176; B. GRIESSER, "Beiträge zur Beurteilung des Cod. 1711 von Trient", *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 6 (1955), pp. 117-130; ID., "Die *Ecclesiastica officia Cisterciensis Ordinis* des Cod. 1711 von Trient", *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 12 (1956), pp. 153-288. On its dating, see *infra*.

[2] GRIESSER, "Beiträge", pp. 123-24. Eussertal is mentioned by the Italian catalogues, but its foundation is given as 1220. On the abbey of Villers, see T. TRAPP, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Weiler-Bettnach (Villers-Bettnach) im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Saarbrücken, 1996).

[3] G. VITI, "Precisazioni sul codice 'cistercense' 1711 della Biblioteca Comunale di Trento", *Atti dell'Academia Poveretana degli Agiati* 235 (1985), pp. 127-154.

[4] GRIESSER, "Die '*Ecclesiastica officia*'", pp. 157-158.

have been Clairvaux, given that there had been an early but failed effort by that abbey to make a foundation at Villers.[5]

The Trent 1711 manuscript contains within its pages an early version of the *Exordium Parvum*, the time-honoured account of the departure of monks from Molesme for a new monastery at Cîteaux in the last years of the eleventh century, the text providing justification for that move. Closely associated with the *Exordium* text, in this and other early manuscripts, is a collection of early Cistercian statutes, and a 'Lay brother'-treatise. The group sometimes contains as well the Cistercian Charter of Charity and / or a letter of confirmation attributed to Calixtus II. Together these texts have been described as the 'primitive Cistercian documents'.[6] In fact, however, they are narrative or legislative texts rather than documents per se. The charters and letters embedded in or accompanying them are found in no independent source; they may well have been invented for use in the *Exordium* account.

Some scholars have been interested in these accounts because they saw among the early monks at Clairvaux and Cîteaux a community of shared interest in the notion of monastic *caritas*.[7] Others still see them as providing the true history of the origins of an Order to which they belong. Until recently such scholars considered these materials to be eyewitness accounts to the foundation at Cîteaux and the creation of the Cistercian Order.[8]

In my earlier consideration of Cistercian origins I examined the Cistercian customary or *Ecclesiastica Officia* (called here the *EO*) as included in three

[5] Villers-Bettnach is usually described as a daughter of Morimond founded *c.* 1132, with an earlier failed foundation attempt by Clairvaux in 1125. Arguments by VITI, "Precisazioni", that this manuscript had to have been made in a large scriptorium, such as that of Clairvaux or Morimond, because of its five distinct hands, are obviated by the fact (discussed below) that there were two distinct phases in its production and that it may be described as a recycled manuscript; there is moreover a larger problem about when Morimond became Cistercian, for it is not included in the earliest document about the leading abbeys; on this and other details see C.H. BERMAN, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000), *passim*.

[6] The standard edition of these texts is *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux: Sources, textes et notes historiques*, ed. J. BOUTON and J.-B. VAN DAMME (Achel, 1974: *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 2).

[7] J. LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. MISRAHI (New York, 1961), and, on the shared community, B. STOCK, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (*Princeton, NJ, 1983).

[8] On the more general history, see L.J. LEKAI, *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality* (Kent, OH, 1977); in fact, it is only such documents that give the year, otherwise undocumented, for Cîteaux's foundation. On the debate of the 1950s, see *infra*, n. 11.

manuscripts, Trent 1711, Ljubljana 31, and Dijon 114 (the earliest of surviving twelfth-century manuscripts considered by me). These are the manuscripts on which the discussion of the 'primitive' documents has centred, and Trent 1711 and Ljubljana 31 may well be the earliest manuscript source for the *Ecclesiastica Officia* – a combination of liturgical, institutional, and disciplinary practices or customary – which the Cistercians had derived from earlier monastic practice.[9]

In my earlier work, the 'primitive documents' and Trent 1711 were of interest because of their relevance for dating the institutional development of the Cistercian Order and the twelfth-century introduction of a new institution, the religious Order. Such religious Orders were vast 'corporate holding companies' or 'umbrella groups' of monastic communities following shared religious and liturgical practices. Shared governance in the Cistercian case was by a General Chapter of all abbots that held legislative, judicial, and administrative authority over all member abbeys, and at which attendance was annual, universal, and mandatory for the male leaders of the Order. Women members were obscured from sight, principally by simply leaving their existence out of the grand narratives.[10]

Like assertions that there were no Cistercian nuns, traditional claims that the Cistercian Order had been created circa 1120 and that it was the first religious order have been shown to be mythical.[11] Although the Fourth Lateran

[9] Recently published in a collated edition, *Les "*Ecclesiastica Officia*" cisterciens du XIIe siècle: texte latin selon les manuscrits édités de Trente 1711, Ljubljana 31 et Dijon 114 version française, annexe liturgique, notes, index et tables*, ed. D. CHOISSELET and P. VERNET (Rheiningue, 1989: *Documentation Cistercienne* 22). The first version, Trent One, is a liturgical *ordo* or customary, an early version of the Cistercian *Ecclesiastica Officia*, and it is the early version that was dated by LECLERCQ, "Une ancienne rédaction", p. 176, to earlier than the liturgical reform of Bernard of Clairvaux and hence before 1140; GRIESSER, "Beiträge", dates it to 1130-1134; C. WADDELL, "The *Exordium Cistercii* and the *Summa Cartae Caritatis*: A discussion continued", in: *Cistercian Ideals and Reality*, ed. J. SOMMERFELDT (Kalamazoo, 1978), pp. 30-61, dates it to before 1147. The original manuscript (dating then to anytime between 1130 and 1147) was later recycled into Trent Two.

[10] See C.H. BERMAN, "Were there twelfth-century Cistercian nuns?", *Church History* 68 (1999), pp. 824-864.

[11] This began to change in the early 1950s when a scholarly controversy arose over a dissertation by J.-A. LEFÈVRE from which he published "A propos de la composition des *Instituta generalis capituli apud Cistercium*", *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorum* 16 (1954), pp. 157-82; ID., "Pour une nouvelle datation des *Instituta generalis capituli apud Cistercium*", *ibid.*, pp. 241-266; ID., "Les traditions manuscrites des *Usus Conversorum* de Cîteaux", *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorum* 17 (1955), pp. 11-39; ID., "L'évolution des *Usus Conversorum* de Cîteaux", *ibid.*, pp. 65-97; ID., "Le vrai récit primitif des

Council would later hold up the Cistercian Order as an exemplar in 1215, the administrative record suggests the Order's slow evolution. Charters show the occasional appearance of the term *ordo cisterciensis* only by the mid-1140s. Moreover, the earliest surviving manuscript evidence for the 'primitive Cistercian documents' comes from *c.* 1160, more than a decade later than the first appearances of *ordo cisterciensis*.

A later dating for institutional developments long associated with the Cistercians suggests their collaboration in a more widespread experimentation with such collective oversight authorities during the first half of the twelfth century. This makes Cistercians more normal and their religious Order neither so unique nor so precocious as once thought. Still, they were part of a movement of monastic reformers seeking to provide their own food by the labour of their own hands, perhaps primarily through drastic cuts in the accretion of liturgical practices that had developed at earlier religious communities, cuts attempted by many reformers of the age. Trent One confirms this strategy of reducing the liturgical accretions found in earlier customaries, as well as limiting the hierarchy of monastic office holding, as I show below. I turn to that theme after a brief overview of my earlier consideration of Trent 1711, which was central to my redating of the 'primitive documents' and which has implications for how we treat monastic administrative manuscripts such as customaries.[12]

The manuscripts containing the *EO* are the best evidence available to date for the primitive documents describing the foundation at Cîteaux. But how are they to be dated? In fact the issue of dating the *EO* and from it the primitive

origines de Cîteaux est-il *l'Exordium Parvum*?", *Le Moyen Age* 61 (1955), pp. 79-120; ID., "Les traditions manuscrites de *l'Exordium Parvum*", *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), pp. 42-46; ID., "A propos de la division des *Instituta Generalis Capituli* en collections séparées dans le MS Laibach 31", *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 21 (1965), pp. 110-112. On this, see the chapter on Cistercian documents, "The primitive Cistercian documents", in D. KNOWLES, *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London, 1963), pp. 199-224; G. CONSTABLE, "The study of monastic history today", in: *Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History*, ed. V. MUDROCH and G.S. COUSE (Montreal, 1974), pp. 21-51. On p. 38 Constable concluded that "Most serious scholars today accept that the early documents of Cistercian history – and the institutions they describe – developed over a considerable period of time and do not reflect the nature of the Order at its beginnings", but went on to describe Lefèvre's publications of the 1950s as "a scholarly bombshell".

[12] See BERMAN, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp. 162-175; on ways of evaluating cartulary evidence, see C.H. BERMAN, "The labours of Hercules, the cartulary, church and abbey for nuns of La Cour-Notre-Dame-de-Michery", *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000), pp. 33-70, and further discussion in BERMAN, *The White Nuns*, forthcoming.

documents depends first on establishing a sequence of revisions of the *EO* by comparison of related clauses in those texts. Then one turns to assigning dates to those manuscripts that may be dated. The establishment of a sequence of *EO* documents shows that Trent 1711 One contains the earliest version of customary items.

Studies earlier than my own had depended on the approximate date for Trent 1711 of the 1130s as asserted by Father Jean Leclercq, who had identified that manuscript as of interest to Cistercian studies shortly after World War II. At that time, during a massive tour of library collections, Leclercq dated the Trent manuscript to the 1130s because of its references to liturgical practices that were abandoned during the lifetime of Bernard of Clairvaux; Leclercq assigned those changes to the mid-1130s and his dating of Trent 1711 has remained fairly constant, with Bruno Griesser arguing for the entire decade of the 1130s, although Chrysogonus Waddell argued the liturgical change as occurring before 1147.[13]

That Trent 1711, even in its revised form, that is Trent Two, contains the earliest surviving version of the *EO* is obvious even from the variants included in the printed edition of the Cistercian customary. The series of customaries found in Trent 1711, Ljubljana 31, and Dijon 114 in that order, had developed slightly from the first to the last manuscripts, and these along with all other manuscripts from the twelfth century may also be placed in a series of successive recensions.[14] But the *EO* stands as a reminder that the common rules for understanding transmission of literary texts do not always apply to the more mundane customaries or cartularies.[15] The principal argument I have made in establishing a sequence of customary manuscripts is to follow marginal glosses in earlier *EO* manuscripts into the texts themselves. Thus simple elaborations in the liturgical instructions, such as "at this point in the service a second priest comes up to assist and will stand at the corner of the altar", were moved from the margins into the body of the text in later manuscripts. This practice was consistent within these three and other twelfth-century Cistercian manuscripts

[13] WADDELL, "The *Exordium Cistercii*"; further discussion by him elsewhere depends on the Cistercian exceptionalist assumption that Heloise's dated customary was derivative rather than the other way around.

[14] See the citation to this edition in note 9, *supra*.

[15] This is not a matter of copied glosses, such as would be found in a biblical or Talmudic text, as is discussed in the most recent handbook, R. CLEMENS and T. GRAHAM, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY, 2007), pp. 39-43, but of elaborations on liturgical instructions added over the course of the twelfth century.

that included the *EO*. I could thus trace earlier to later manuscripts by tracing how such marginal notes came to be incorporated into the body of the text of the *Ecclesiastica Officia*.

To date these manuscripts was more difficult. First there was conflicting evidence about 'Lay brother'-treatises. That found in Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, MS H 322 (originally from Clairvaux) seemed the earliest in terms of its simplicity; yet that manuscript contained materials that dated its 'Lay brother'-treatise to *c.* 1160. If that were so, how could the Trent 1711 manuscript with its slightly more elaborate 'Lay brother'-treatise be part of a manuscript dated by Leclercq to the 1130s? Ingenious suggestions abounded for calling the Montpellier 'Lay brother'-treatise an abridged one. They are no longer necessary once it is recognised that Trent 1711 was produced at two different times.[16]

Careful examination of Trent 1711 in situ, in good afternoon light, revealed the beginnings of an answer, for several interesting things appeared about the composition of its pages and its codicology. What had not been noted earlier was that there were two very distinguishable red inks used in its numbering and rubrication.

Both colours of red in the rubrication appeared only in the centre quires of the manuscript. Moreover, it was possible to see by examining that rubrication that parts of the *EO* had been renumbered in a not quite seamless process. It had been easy to change a Roman numeral by additions to front and back. Thus an earlier "LV" ("fifty-five") could easily become "XLVII" ("forty-seven") and this change would be discernible only by very close examination. Only a relatively small number of instances were of actual erasures, and then often of only one or two strokes (see Plate 7[17]). Moreover, whatever occasional erasures and rewritings had occurred in the manuscript, they are found only in the middle sections of the manuscript, where irregularities in the codicology show the insertion or excision of single sheets or bifolia. And this is the section of the manuscript which contains the early liturgical references that had led Leclercq to date it to the 1130s.

[16] The ingenious solution is found in *La législation cistercienne abrégée du manuscrit de Montpellier H 322*, ed. L. DUVAL-ARNOULD (Paris, 1997); Lefèvre had argued first that Montpellier was earliest, then changed his mind; see the publications listed *supra*, n. 11; on the identification of this as a manuscript from Clairvaux, see A. VERNET, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle*, 1- (Paris, 1979-), 1, p. 280.

[17] The plate can be found at the end of the volume.

While Griesser had noted the renumbering in Trent 1711, what was not noted was that in the opening and closing quires of the manuscript only the second red ink (that used for renumbering) is found. These sections are those that contain the *Exordium Parvum* and first statutes and the 'Lay brother'-treatise; the use of the later red for rubrication (and never the earlier one) suggests that these portions had only been written at a later date in comparison to the middle sections of the manuscript. Indeed the writing of opening and closing quires had probably been done concomitantly with the renumbering of the middle sections. All this suggests that the centre quires of the manuscript had been 'recycled' to some extent. Were opening and closing quires simply attached to an earlier liturgical manuscript, and was only that earlier part datable to the 1130s? Certainly, the 'Lay brother'-treatise at the end could be seen as an added quire. But there was still a problem.

As I re-examined the structure of the manuscript, I was puzzled to find that the opening quires on which the *Exordium Parvum* and associated documents were copied, nonetheless appeared continuous with the rest of the manuscript. Eventually what I discovered was that the apparent continuation had been achieved by placing a single sheet or bifolia around an older quire (possibly the opening one of the old customary); that allowed enough space to complete copying the 'primitive' documents, the *Exordium* and early statutes which were then placed at the opening of the earlier customary – which was then renumbered to coincide with current practice.

Hence I arrived at a description of Trent 1711's contents as that of a very early customary – Trent One – updated by surrounding it with the text of Trent Two. This meant that the 'primitive' documents (now recognised as part of Trent Two) were no longer dated by the parts of Trent One that Leclercq had used to date the entire manuscript to the 1130s, and the insertion of an extra page between old and new manuscript meant that in a cursory modern examination, it would appear to be continuous, although in the twelfth century there had been no intention to deceive, but simply to save copying. Thus, Trent One in its original guise was a monastic customary without the 'typical' Cistercian accoutrements. Close examination of the original text in good light and examination of codicological aspects as well as ink colours had paid off in revealing its complexity.

Having outlined those findings, I turn here to a second question. Whereas earlier I had consulted the earliest manuscripts of the Cistercian customary, including Trent 1711, because those manuscripts contained the early accounts

of Cistercian origins as written up by members of the Order, here I ask if Trent 1711 can tell us anything about how the early Cistercians got their earliest customary. What were the circumstances of the creation of such an early customary as this, and how distinctly Cistercian was it? Could Trent One tell us things about how early Cistercians adopted the practices of their predecessors, competitors, rivals and neighbours? What could the numbering and renumbering tell us about the early Customary? Such questions require some thinking about customaries.

Historians, given how much such customaries reveal internal practices of various monastic groups, have neglected the study of monastic customaries. The *EO* or Cistercian customary which outlines the liturgical, office-holding, and other internal administration of early Cistercian monasteries, has been much less influential for historians of the Order than have been the early Cistercian statutes, the *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* published by Jean-Baptiste Canivez in 1933 in eight chronological volumes with index, which are widely available to researchers.[18] While the published Statutes appear to reflect the early deliberations of a Cistercian General Chapter, a glance through volume one of Canivez's edition shows that they do not. Well-attested manuscript sources for the statutes appear only from the late 1150s. Those statutes later attributed to the 1130s turn out to have been collected even later. Such statutes do not provide details on the internal practices of Cistercian houses during the lifetime of Bernard of Clairvaux or the Cistercian Pope Eugenius III (both of whom died in 1153). Rather it was to the *EO* that early Cistercians would have looked for guidance on how to behave on special occasions, such as Christmas or Easter, or for regulations on practices within the monastery, such as how monks were to be bled, or the burial of the dead. Most likely the Cistercians did not invent a new customary out of whole cloth, but would have adapted one already in use, with additions and deletions to describe the practices of the new monastic reform they envisioned.[19] Using Griesser's edition and my own notes from Trent from 1997, I can begin to address this new question.

A glance at published customaries, including the Cistercian *EO*, shows that customaries generally contain much more than liturgical instructions, and both

[18] *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. J.-M. CANIVEZ, 8 vols. (Louvain, 1933).

[19] B.K. LACKNER, "Early Cistercian life as described in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*", in: *Cistercian Ideals and Reality*, pp. 62-79.

Kassius Hallinger and Dominique Iogna-Prat, each of whom has described customaries as concerning both the liturgical and institutional organisation of a monastic community, have discussed what those contents are.[20] Comparison of the chapter headings of the *EO* to the widely available eleventh-century customary, that of the Cluniac monk Udalric, as presented in Appendix One (which I present first for reasons of chronology), underscores this and allows us to begin to think about what has been excised or added by Cistercian or proto-Cistercian reformers.[21] What makes the Cistercian *EO* different? A telling detail is found in the numbering – in which the 25 chapters of the 'primitive documents' except the 'Lay brother'-treatise have replaced something else from the exemplar – hence the Cistercian customary starts with item 26 concerning Advent, as we see in Appendix Two.

First, there are items found in the Cluniac customary and not in the Cistercian one. Most have to do with either the liturgy or office holding, including the opening items in book one, five chapters concerning readings and liturgical elaborations on the weekly divine office, the reading of psalms and so forth. This is followed by chapters VI to XI on masses – for the dead, on Sunday, on the Sunday processional, and so forth. In chapter XII, the Cluniac customary then turns to chapters concerning the liturgical year, starting with Holy Thursday, Easter, Rogations, Ascension, Pentecost, the feast of Saint John Baptist, that of Saints Peter and Paul, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, All Saints' and All Souls' Day, Saint Martin in November, then Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Candelmas, Lent, and Palm Sunday. In contrast the Cistercian customary starts with Advent and continues in chapters 26 through 68 in ways similar to the Cluniac one up to Pentecost, then leaves out nearly all the summer and autumn feasts, inserting instead much more limited chapters and then in chapter eighty adding "*De festivitatibus in quibus laboramus*".

Udalric's Book Two starts on internal monastic practice: concerning novices, silence, signs, confession, then laundry, before the chapter of faults,

[20] K. HALLINGER, "Consuetudo: Begriff, Formen, Forschungsgeschichte, Inhalt", in: *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, ed. P. MORAW (Göttingen, 1980: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 68: *Studien zur Germania Sacra* 14), pp. 140-166; D. IOGNA-PRAT, "Coutumes et Statuts clunisiens comme sources historiques (*c.* 990-*c.* 1200)", *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 3 (1992), pp. 23-48.

[21] One question to be kept in mind is whether and where the Cistercians have simplified or simply compressed what are several chapters in the Cluniac customary into a single one in the *EO.* The comparison of entire texts is beyond the scope of this paper.

bloodletting, weekly priests, and other deacons and cantors, reading at table, a whole chapter on cooks that goes to great length on how to prepare beans, then cooking utensils, and the ritual foot washing or mandatum for the poor. His Book Three considers the special election of lord Hugh abbot (1024-1109) and then in chapters II to XII after an interruption on washing, relics, shaving and baths, in chapters XVII to XXV considers the officers of the monastery: abbot, prior, deans who oversee *villae*, claustral prior, the *circatores* (inspectors), custodian of youths, *procantor* and *armarius*, chamberlain, *apocrisiarius*, cellerar, custodian of wine, gardener, *refectoriarius*, keeper of the guest house, the stable keeper, almskeeper, infirmarian, and so on. Finally at XXVII begin chapters on the care and burial of the dead. There are far fewer office-holding chapters in the Cistercian customary than in the Cluniac one – even though the details about lay brothers will be contained in a separate Cistercian document. Although some of the items on internal practice are found in both customaries, such as that on cooking, bloodletting, shaving, and the care of the dead, they are often considerably different in content. All this suggests a simpler life among the early Cistercians than among the Cluniacs.

Finally, there are items found only in the Cistercian customary, sometimes inserted at rather odd places, suggesting possibly a crowded prototype to which marginal additions were made wherever there was room – and then later incorporated into a text that was beginning to have numbers. In particular we see the insertion of chapters on labour and on the time of haymaking and harvest which have replaced many of the summer feasts and the elaborations on the monastic office.

These changes and excisions overall, then, suggest that the return to a more primitive practice of the Benedictine *Rule* and to manual labour in the fields for their own support – much touted for the Cistercians – are changes in monastic practice that are indeed confirmed in a consideration of the earliest of the Cistercian customaries. At least for the period up to *c.* 1160 when Montpellier H 322 and Trent 1711 Two were redacted, the Cistercian customary confirms the effort to put into practice reform ideas. That had been made more obvious by a consideration of the earliest customary version as found in Trent 1711 One and in the implications of its exemplar. What is most important, moreover, is that among these changes (with the possible exception of deletions of liturgical accretions which comes at the beginning of Trent Two, but might have been deleted from Trent One), all the rest – limits on feast days within the summer months, limits on numbers of officers, and the introduction

of chapters on the labour of the monks and lay brothers, appear to have been present in the earlier customary, Trent One, and to have been introduced, possibly onto the margins of its exemplar, the prototype for Trent One. These changes to the traditional monastic customary may thus be dated to no later than the date of Trent One – that is to the time of the changes in the Cistercian liturgy between 1135 and 1147. Indeed, such changes in lifestyle date to the very early years of the Cistercian or proto-Cistercian movement.

This essay thus unpacks the structure of MS Trent, Biblioteca comunale, 1711, as a key early Cistercian customary, showing how much is at stake in such codicological details. This new understanding of the way the manuscript was put together over time has large implications. Taking away long-assumed evidence used to anchor the dating of the Cistercian Order to the 1130s, these findings suggest the creation of an Order through increments and experiments, rather like the accumulation of this manuscript.

Appendix One

Index Capitum from *Udalrici cluniacensis monachi* (*Customs of Udalric*), published in the *Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus ... Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864), 149, cols. 839-841.

I, I	*De eo quomodo Testamentum legatur utrumque.*
I, II	*De nocturnis et horis omnibus regularibus: si quid eis plus sit additum quam quod statuit Sanctus Benedictus.*
I, III	*De psalmodia quae solet dici post regulares horas.*
I, IV	*De eo quibus ex causis, et quomodo per vices psalmodiam minuatur.*
I, V	*De collectis et versiculis quae psalmodiam sequuntur, et quantitate letaniae.*
I, VI	*De missarum solemniis et 1 de majore missa in privatis diebus.*
I, VII	*De missa pro defunctis.*
I, VIII	*De majore missa in Dominicis diebus.*
I, IX	*Item de matutinali missa in Dominicis diebus.*
I, X	*De processione Dominicali.*
I, XI	*De diversitate solemnitatum.*
I, XII	*De Caena Domini.*
I, XIII	*De Parasceve.*
I, XIV	*De Sabbato sancto.*
I, XV	*De ipsa nocte vel die Dominicae Resurrectionis.*

I, XVI	*De feria 2, et diebus aliis majoris septimanae.*
I, XVII	*De octavo dies Paschae, et quomodo ad omnes horas cantetur Alleluia.*
I, XVIII	*De illa feria 2, post octavas Paschae, et quod tunc nonnullae consuetudines inchoantur.*
I, XIX	*De tertia septimana post Pascha, et de caeteris usque ad Ascensionem Domini.*
I, XX	*De festivitatibus sanctorum quae eveniunt a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten.*
I, XXI	*De Rogationibus.*
I, XXII	*De Ascensione Domini.*
I, XXIII	*De vigilia Pentecosten.*
I, XXIV	*De ipso die, et ea quae sequitur septimana.*
I, XXV	*De octavo die Pentecosten.*
I, XXVI	*De septimana sequente post octavas.*
I, XXVII	*De jejunio Quatuor Temporum in mense Junio.*
I, XXVIII	*De festis SS. post Pentecosten venientibus.*
I, XXIX	*De jejuniis quae debent fierei in aestate feris 4 et 6.*
I, XXX	*De opere manuum.*
I, XXXI	*De Dominca 3 post Pentecosten et septimana.*
I, XXXII	*De nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae.*
I, XXXIII	*De natali SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli.*
I, XXXIV	*De translatione S. Benedicti.*
I, XXXV	*De benedictione uvarum et aliorum fructuum.*
I, XXXVI	*De assumptione S. Mariae.*
I, XXXVII	*De eo quid cantetur in Septembri.*
I, XXXVIII	*De exaltatione S. Crucis.*
I, XXXIX	*De eo quod ab Idibus septembris semel comeditur.*
I, XL	*De consuetudinibus quae incipiunt a Kalendis Octobris usque ad Kalendas Novembris.*
I, XLI	*De consuetudinibus in Novembri.*
I, XLII	*De festivatate Omnium SS, et recordatione omnium fidelium defunctorum.*
I, XLIII	*De festivitate S. Martini et consuetudinibus quae tunc inchoantur.*
I, XLIV	*De Adventu Domini.*
I, XLV	*De septimana jejunii Quatuor Temporum.*
I, XLVI	*De vigilia, et de die Natalis Domini.*
I, XLVII	*De octavis Natalis Domini, et Epiphania.*
I, XLVIII	*De Purificatione Sanctae Mariae.*
I, XLIX	*De septuagesima et quinquagesima.*
I, L	*De capite jejunii et quadragesima.*
I, LI	*De diebus Dominicis Quadragesimae.*

I, LII	*De secunda feria Quadragesimae.*
I, LIII	*De jejunio Quatuor Temporum in mense Martio.*
I, LIV	*De Passione Domini et Ramis Palmarum.*
I, LV	*De festivitatibus quae in Quadragesima eveniunt.*
II, I	*De diversitate novitiorum.*
II, II	*Quomodo se habeant in cella novitiorum.*
II, III	*De silentio, et in quibus officinis.*
II, IV	*De signis loquendi.*
II, V	*Quomodo se frater levet ad nocturnos.*
II, VI	*De excessibus pro quibus in capitulo veniam petit.*
II, VII	*Quomodo se habeat ad horas regulares.*
II, VIII	*Quomodo laternam ligneam portare debeat ad nocturnos.*
II, IX	*Qua disciplina recollocatus jaceat in lecto.*
II, X	*Quomodo surgat mane, vel quid statim faciat.*
II, XI	*Quomodo sedeat vel incedat.*
II, XII	*Quomodo veniat ad confessionem.*
II, XIII	*Quomodo vel quando pannos suos induat.*
II, XIV	*Si coctus qua hora coctionem suam videat.*
II, XV	*Quomodo pannos suos lavet.*
II, XVI	*Quomodo de regulari hora non exeat nisi pro inevitabili necessitate.*
II, XVII	*Quomodo se preparat ad capitulum, vel quid faciat si est sibi conscius ullius.*
II, XVIII	*De culpa leviore.*
II, XIX	*Ubicunque steterit, quomodo stare debeat.*
II, XX	*De his quae non licet facere nisi ad horam loquendi.*
II, XXI	*De minutione sanguinis.*
II, XXII	*Qua disciplina in ecclesia maneat ad solemnia missarum.*
II, XXIII	*Qua disciplina maneat in refectorio.*
II, XXIV	*De habitatione sua et post prandium, et post coenam.*
II, XXV	*Qua disciplina se post completorium est collocaturus.*
II, XXVI	*De confessione, et petitione novitiorum.*
II, XXVII	*De benedictione novitiorum.*
II, XXVIII	*De habitatione illorum in illo triduo post benedictionem.*
II, XXIX	*De hebdomadario cantore, et de eo qui notatus est ad invitatorium, vel ad aliquam lectionem, vel aliquod responsorium.*
II, XXX	*De sacerdote hebdomadario.*
II, XXXI	*De subdiacono et de cantoribus gradualis vel alleluia, et tractus.*
II, XXXII	*De diacono.*
II, XXXIII	*De servitoribus ecclesiae, et de his quos appellamus ministros altaris.*
II, XXXIV	*De lectore ad mensam.*
II, XXXV	*De cocis.*

II, XXXVI *De utensilibus coquinae.*
II, XXXVII *De his qui faciunt mandatum.*
III, *Praefatio* *De electione speciali, et ordinatione domni Hugonis abbatis.*
III, I *De electione abbatis.*
III, II *De generali officio domini abbatis.*
III, III *De culpa graviore, et de aliis generibus culparum.*
III, IV *De priore majore.*
III, V *De decanis qui sunt villarum provisiores.*
III, VI *De claustrali priore.*
III, VII *De circatoribus.*
III, VIII *De pueris, et puerorum magistris.*
III, IX *De custodia juvenum.*
III, X *De praecentore et armario.*
III, XI *De camerario.*
III, XII *De apocrisiario.*
III, XIII *De corporalibus abluendis.*
III, XIV *De reliquiis sanctorum quomodo prosequantur, sive recipiantur.*
III, XV *De rasura fratrum.*
III, XVI *De balneis fratrum.*
III, XVII *De cellerario.*
III, XVIII *De custode vini.*
III, XIX *De hortulano.*
III, XX *De refectoriario.*
III, XXI *De custode hospitii.*
III, XXII *De stabulario.*
III, XXIII *De eleemosynario.*
III, XXIV *De infirmario.*
III, XXV *De famulis ad domum infirmorum pertinentibus.*
III, XXVI *De infirmis.*
III, XXVII *De unctione cujuscunque fratris.*
III, XXVIII *Quid agendum est in fine exitus.*
III, XXIX *Si quis obierit in aliqua cella.*
III, XXX *Qui agatur pro quolibet fratre in singulis obedientiis.*
III, XXXI *De obitu domini abbatis.*
III, XXXII *De eo qui in Quadragesima obierit, et in 12 lectionibus est sepeliendus.*

Appendix Two

Column One: Trent 1711-One: Chapter numbers.
Column Two: Trent 1711-Two: Chapter titles from Griesser.
Column Three: Trent 1711-Two: Chapter numbers.

Columns Two and Three are based on pp. 179-182 of B. GRIESSER, "Die '*Ecclesiastica officia Cisterciensis Ordinis*' des Cod. 1711 von Trient", *Analecta sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 12 (1956), pp. 153-288.

Trent I-1-26[22]		
Trent I-27	*De adventu domini.*	Trent II-27
Trent I-28	*Quomodo per hyemem privatis diebus dividantur responsoria.*	Trent II-28
Trent I-29	*De vigilia nativitatis domini.*	Trent II-29
Trent I-30	*De nativitate domini.*	Trent II-30
Trent I-31	*De octavis.*	Trent II-31
Trent I-32	*Quomodo a nativitate domini usque septuagesimam diebus dominis officia missarum disponantur singulis annis.*	Trent II-32
Trent I-33	*De sancto silvestro.*	Trent II-33
Trent I-34	*De officiis defunctorum per circumcisionem domini.*	Trent II-34
Trent I-35	*Quid post circumcisionem usque LXX. ad vigilias legendum sit.*	Trent II-35
Trent I-36	*De vigilia epyphanie.*	Trent II-36
Trent I-37	*De domine ne in ira tua et benedicam dominum.*	Trent II-37
Trent I-38	*De septuagesima.*	Trent II-38
Trent I-39	*De capite ieiunii.*	Trent II-39
Trent I-40	*De tractibus.*	Trent II-40
Trent I-41	*De festivitatis sanctorum que a capite ieiunii usque ad cenam domini evenerint.*	Trent II-41
Trent I-42	*De dominica prima XLme et observatione eiusdem temporis.*	Trent II-42
Trent I-43	*De duabus ebdomadibus ante pasca.*	Trent II-43
Trent I-44-51[23]		
Trent I-52	*Ordo in ramis palmarum.*[24]	Trent II-44
Trent I-53	*Quomodo incipiende sint passiones.*	Trent II-45

[22] Missing in Trent II. Replaced there by "primitive documents".
[23] Missing in Trent II.
[24] This is the chapter from which Leclercq assigned a date to this manuscript.

Trent I-54	*De feria IIII ante pasca.*	Trent II-46
Trent I-55	*De cena domini et parasceve et vigilia pasce.*	Trent II-47
Trent I-56	*Item de cena domini.*	Trent II-48
Trent I-57-58[25]		
Trent I-59	*Item de parasceve.*	Trent II-49
Trent I-60	*Item de vigilia pasce.*	Trent II-50
Trent I-61	*De festis sanctorum que a cena domini usque ad octavas pasce occurrerint.*	Trent II-51
Trent I-62	*De septimana pasce.*	Trent II-52
Trent I-63	*De octava die pasce.*	Trent II-53
Trent I-64	*De resurrectionis tempore.*	Trent II-54
Trent I-65	*De rogationibus.*	Trent II-55
Trent I-66	*De ascensione domini.*	Trent II-56
Trent I-67	*De vigilia pentecostes.*	Trent II-57
Trent I-68	*De octava eiusdem.*	Trent II-58
Trent I-69	*Quando hystorie sunt incipiende.*	Trent II-59
Trent I-70	*Quando lectiones cum hec dicit dominus terminande sint.*	Trent II-60
Trent I-71	*Qua septimana ieiunia IIII temporum in mense septembri agenda sunt.*	Trent II-61
Trent I-57	*Quomodo legantur libri in refectorio a pentecoste usque ad kalendas novembris.*	Trent II-62
Trent I-71	*Quando dicantur antiphone hystoriarum.*	Trent II-63
Trent I-72	*De septimana que precedit illam que est ante adventum domini et de illa que est ante LXX^{am}.*	Trent II-64
Trent I-73	*De festis sanctorum que dominicis diebus vel ascencsione eveniunt.*	Trent II-65
Trent I-74	*De festis sanctorum que veniunt in sabbatis.*	Trent II-66
Trent I-75	*De vigiliis.*	Trent II-67
Trent I-76	*De octavis domini et sanctorum.*	Trent II-68
Trent I-77	*De purificatione sancte marie.*	Trent II-69
Trent I-78	*De canticis.*	Trent II-70
Trent I-79	*De hymnis.*	Trent II-71
Trent I-80	*De festivitatibus in quibus laboramus.*	Trent II-72
Trent I-81	*Quibus temporibus et quo ordine celebrandum est officium defunctorum.*	Trent II-73
Trent I-82	*Quo ordine dicantur collecte pro defunctis.*	Trent II-74
Trent I-83	*De officii defunctorum precipuis.*	Trent II-75
Trent I-84	*Quomodo se agant sacerdos et ministri ad missas festivas.*	Trent II-76

[25] Missing in Trent II.

Trent I-85	*De missis quibus tantum unus minister fuerit.*	Trent II-77
Trent I-88	*Quo ordine benedicatur aqua.*	Trent II-78
Trent I-89	*Quomodo conventus agat se ad missas.*	Trent II-79
Trent I-89	*De pace.*	Trent II-80
Trent I-81	*De communione.*	Trent II-81
Trent I-90	*De privatis missis.*	Trent II-82
Trent I-91	*Quibus diebus due misse cantuntur.*	Trent II-83
Trent I-92	*Quando sacerdos et ministri debeant ascendere ad altare.*	Trent II-84
Trent I-93	*De kyrie eleison.*	Trent II-85
Trent I-94	*Quando cantitur gloria in excelsis et ite missa est.*	Trent II-86
Trent I-95	*Quibus diebus intermittende sint usitate collecte.*	Trent II-87
Trent I-96	*Quibus diebus credo in unum deum dicatur.*	Trent II-88
Trent I-97	*Quando debeant fratres ad pacem et ad communionem ire.*	Trent II-89
Trent I-98	*Quibus diebus ardeant tres lampades et quibus habeantur semones in capitulo.*	Trent II-90
Trent I-99	*Qualiter se habeant fratres dominicis et festivis diebus id est de vigiliis.*	Trent II-91
Trent I-100	*De laudibus.*	Trent II-92
Trent I-101	*De capitulo et confessione.*	Trent II-93
Trent I-102	*Qualiter se habeant fratres tempore lectionis.*	Trent II-94
Trent I-103	*Quas officinas ingredi fratres debeant.*	Trent II-95
Trent I-104	*De mixto.*	Trent II-96
Trent I-105	*Qualiter se habeant fratres in hieme privatis diebus; de vigiliis et usque ad tertiam.*	Trent II-97
Trent I-106	*De labore.*	Trent II-98
Trent I-107	*De refectione.*	Trent II-99
Trent I-108	*De servitoribus.*	Trent II-100
Trent I-109	*De vesperis.*	Trent II-101
Trent I-110	*Quomodo se habeant fratres post vesperas omni tempore.*	Trent II-102
Trent I-111	*De bibere post vesperas.*	Trent II-103
Trent I-112	*De collatione.*	Trent II-104
Trent I-113	*Qualiter se agant fratres post completorium.*	Trent II-105
Trent I-114	*Item qualiter se agant fratres in estate.*	Trent II-106
Trent I-115?	*De vigiliis et usque post vesperas.*	Trent II-107
Trent I-115?	*De tempore secationis et messionis.*	Trent II-108
Trent I-116	*De rasuris.*	Trent II-109
Trent I-117	*De processione episcoporum.*	Trent II-110
Trent I-118	*De hospitibus suscipiendis.*	Trent II-111

Trent I-119	*De dirrigendis in via.*	Trent II-112
Trent I-120	*De vomentibus et sanguine fluentibus et servitore eorum.*	Trent II-113
Trent I-121	*De minutione.*	Trent II-114
Trent I-122	*De infirmis extra chorum.*	Trent II-115
Trent I-123	*De infirmis qui sunt in infirmitorio.*	Trent II-116
Trent I-124	*Quo ordine ungantur infirmi.*	Trent II-117
Trent I-125	*Quomodo agatur circa defunctum.*	Trent II-118
Trent I-126	*Item de defunctis postquam sunt in ecclesia.*	Trent II-119
	Quo ordine misse vel collecte in presenti defuncto dicantur.	Trent II-119[bis]
Trent I-127	*Quo ordine deferatur ad tumulum.*	Trent II-120
Trent I-128 or 129	*De parentibus nostris.*	Trent II-121
Trent I-128 or 129[26]		
Trent I-130	*Quomodo communicentur hospites infirmi.*	Trent II-122
Trent I-131	*Quomodo hospites sepeliantur.*	Trent II-123
Trent I-132	*De novitiis.*	Trent II-124
Trent I-133	*De ebdomadario sacerdote.*	Trent II-125
Trent I-134	*De ebdomadario invitatorii.*	Trent II-126
Trent I-135	*De servitore ecclesie.*	Trent II-127
Trent I-136	*De ebdomadario lectore.*	Trent II-128
Trent I-137	*De ebdomadariis ad mandatum hospitum.*	Trent II-129
Trent I-138	*De ebdomadariis coquine.*	Trent II-130
Trent I-139	*De cocis abbatis.*	Trent II-131
Trent I-140[27]	*De abbate.*	Trent II-132
[Trent I-141]	*De priore.*	Trent II-133
[Trent I-142]	*De subpriore.*	Trent II-134
[Trent I-143]	*De magistro novitiorum.*	Trent II-135
[Trent I-144]	*De sacrista.*	Trent II-136
[Trent I-145]	*De cantore et succentore.*	Trent II-137
[Trent I-146]	*De servitore infirmorum.*	Trent II-138
[Trent I-147]	*De cellarario et solatio eius.*	Trent II-139
[Trent I-148]	*De refectorario.*	Trent II-140
[Trent I-149]	*De hospitali monacho.*	Trent II-141
[Trent I-150]	*De portario et solatio eius.*	Trent II-142
[Trent I-151]	*De versu refectionis.*	Trent II-143

[26] Missing in Trent II.

[27] This is the last trace of Trent I; any evidence of numbers for what appear to have been items 141-151 is missing.

Dismembering and Reconstructing MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19

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As I sat in the Durham Cathedral Library on a cold Northumbrian December day in 2007 examining MS A.IV.19, what I wanted – besides the impossible of taking the misbound manuscript out of its overly tight modern binding – was some sheets of vellum that I could fold and collate in various configurations to see if I could recreate the odd quires that I think formed separate booklets at one time or another in the manuscript's history. I got my wish and more at the University of Iowa Obermann Center seminar on Extreme Materialist Readings of Medieval Manuscripts in June 2008. In Durham, I had the authentic manuscript in my hands, but the static object remained impenetrable to my codicological gaze, even as I stood on the broad shoulders of three centuries of scholarship. In Iowa, oddly enough, the materiality of the manuscript, viewable only through the simulacrum of the facsimile edition, came alive through a collaborative hands-on reconstruction process: we literally scraped and sanded skin, cut and shared out parchment, practised our scribal skills, put quill to parchment, and experimented with binding techniques in an effort to reverse-engineer the processes by which our medieval manuscripts evolved over the centuries. The multisensory experience of creating a manuscript, the sensuousness of its smell and feel, are quite different from the scholarly handling of a precious manuscript in an archive. The manuscript's constituent parts take on dimensions of time and space, effort and imagination, planning and accident. The objects we created in Iowa, guided by book artists, were fragmentary, representing the state of our understanding and our novice apprenticeship as craftsmen lacking the requisite ten thousand hours of experi-

ence for expert status. Yet the experiment of combining eye, hand, and mind brought enlightenment to a group of professionals admittedly obsessed with their craft and objects of study. As a historian, I came to see Durham A.IV.19 less as an object of my scholarly desire and more as a collaborative project in progress, both in Iowa and in Northumbria. I began to dismember it in order to see the fragments of which it was made. This is an essay about that construction process, my own and that of the manuscript: its codicology, palaeography, and the communities that produced, used, and studied it.

MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 (The Durham Ritual or Collectar) contains a tenth-century service book presumed to originate from southern England that migrated to the Northumbrian religious community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street in the second half of the tenth century and then to Durham when the community moved there in 995.[1] Scribes at Chester-le-Street and Durham added, modified, and appended materials with this collectar, eventually producing the manuscript we now have, minus parts lost in the intervening centuries. The current state of scholarship on this manuscript is that it was an older service book reused as an archive. Its low grade patched vellum, irregular quires, bilingual texts, and patchwork of scribal hands have primarily been of interest to liturgical scholars for its comparable texts, such as the hymns, and to linguists for the Northumbrian gloss by Aldred, provost of the community. Its scrappy material appearance has given it a low cultural status, commonly described with adjectives such as incomplete, out of date, old-fashioned, error-filled, and heterodox. This may not be a fair appraisal of its value as a cultural marker for an important religious community in Northumbria during a vital era of change in English history.

This essay argues that Durham A.IV.19 needs to be seen as more than the bound volume we currently have. The modern binding and manuscript label are

[1] MS Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19, s. IX/X; or. S. England, prov. Chester-le-Street; s. X^2 gloss and additions. See H. GNEUSS, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), item 223; N.R. KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), item 106. Facsimile in *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T.J. BROWN (Copenhagen, 1969: *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 16) and *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 14.3, ed. S. LARRATT KEEFER (Tempe, AZ, 2007). See also *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T.D. KENDRICK, with notes by T.J. BROWN, R.L.S. BRUCE-MITFORD, A.S.C. ROSS, and E.G. STANLEY, 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1956-1960). Critical edition of the original Latin material, without the Old English gloss and additional material in: *The Durham Collectar*, ed. A. CORRÊA (London, 1992: *Henry Bradshaw Society for the Edition of Rare Liturgical Texts* (*HBS*) 107). Edition with the gloss and added texts in: *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis: The Durham Collectar*, ed. U. LINDELÖF (London, 1927: *Surtees Society* 140).

deceptive, not just because of missing pages and reversed quires, but because it very likely existed in the tenth century as an unbound collection of folios that had greater mobility and variability than one would expect from a single manuscript. The evidence of earlier sewing needs further analysis than the present binding permits, but wear between and within quires, scribal notations from different periods, and the sequence of copying suggests booklets or even single pages were separated out and used for different purposes. The community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, and later at Durham, left extensive marks of their activities in these quires, revealing some of the processes they employed in handling parchment and text. In recreating some of these processes – parchment making, scribing different hands, and quire binding – I aim to bring the Chester-le-Street community back to life through the material artifact they left to us.

History

A brief history of the manuscript serves as a window into the communities of scribes and scholars who have handled it. In essence, Durham A.IV.19 constitutes a 'self-authenticating witness', an artifact whose materiality and textuality testify to the activities of those who made, marked, and manipulated its folios.[2] Yet even as an artifact, it is not a static object but the result of historical processes. The contents cannot be separated from the form in which we find it, which is itself the product of a long history from the tenth through the twenty-first centuries.

All of the handlers medieval and modern have in common some sense of intimacy with the manuscript gained through their interactions with it, but they are often thought of in two categories, to which I will add a third. First are the 'original' creators who were involved in the processes of manuscript production – addition, modification, and subtraction – from the tenth and eleventh centuries and extending into the sixteenth. As historians we view them as primary sources. Second are the 'scholars' who study the static object, mostly from the seventeenth century to the present, as something 'other' from the past; this seeming distance makes them in historical terms secondary sources in relation to the manuscript. These scholars are not necessarily objective in that

[2] My own explanation of seminar participant Gary Frost's mantra that the manuscript – not the text in any other format whether facsimile or critical edition – is the only authentic witness.

they have agendas connecting the past to the present, but they seek to preserve the artifact accurately in other formats – typeset scripts, critical editions, and facsimiles – while analysing its historical and contemporary significance. However, I would add, based on the Iowa seminar experience, a third, hybrid category implicitly connecting and blurring these two, 'reproducers', craft and arts scholars who are interested in the process behind the object, re-creating their own manuscript folios, script, or binding in response to the medieval originals. I suggest that the best palaeographic and codicological scholars engage in processes of reproduction, whether copying script in order to understand the hands that made it, transcribing text, or rebinding folios. The line, then, between those who make and those who study is in many ways a false one: the early generations who constructed Durham A.IV.19 were engaged in study and those of us who study them are also makers. While the earliest acted freely to modify the manuscript folios in a way forbidden to the professionals who now access the manuscript, a continuum nonetheless exists from one to the other.

The 'original' creators of Durham A.IV.19's folios and texts are largely nameless as well as faceless, with scribes given alphabetic names by palaeographers, except for the self-identified hand of Aldred, priest and provost at Chester-le-Street. The base from which Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19 was constructed is a collectar thought to be from southern England and dated to the early tenth century, written by a single scribe labelled "O". This provenance derives primarily from Scribe O's West Saxon dialect in the Old English ordeal oath, his style of hand and initial decorations, and the nature of the texts.[3] This so-called original collectar in Durham A.IV.19 was copied in nine quires of usually 5 bifolia each, but is seemingly incomplete, although Scribe O ended his work on f. 61r leaving nine and half blank pages. Of the nine quires, eight now remain, not all intact.

At some point in the second half of the tenth century, this collectar manuscript came to reside with the community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, where it underwent significant transformation in its scriptorium. This scriptorium consisted of a heterogeneous group of scribes headed by Aldred, who not only glossed the treasured Lindisfarne Gospels in Old English but also added

[3] Alicia Corrêa has edited and analysed the original materials, arguing that the compilation is based on a continental model and that it represents a late type of collectar superseded by more breviary-like compilations of collects for the Daily Office, for example the Leofric Collectar and Wulstan Portiforium (CORRÊA, in: *Durham Collectar*, pp. 82, 129).

a similar gloss to the liturgical texts of Scribe O in the original collectar.[4] Ald--red, along with scribes B, C, D, E, and F, added texts on the blank pages in the last quire (VIII) and also wrote more in three quires (IX-XI) now appended to it. These materials, mostly in Latin but also with Old English gloss and occasional texts, appear miscellaneous, in part due to the variety of alternating styles of hand and format, from single to triple column, that give a very different aspect to each page, despite their seeming similarity in parchment shape and text box size.

The Chester-le-Street religious community in the tenth century was essentially the Lindisfarne see in transition prior to its transfer to Durham. Under pressure from the Viking incursions, the community in 875 migrated from Lindisfarne carrying the sacred remains of Cuthbert and Oswald, among other identifying relics.[5] They eventually settled in 883 at Chester-le-Street, one of their strategically located estates. Here they stayed for over a century, perhaps longer than they had anticipated, until the move to Durham in 995. Although in 934 King Æthelstan bestowed on them sumptuous gifts of books, treasure, and land, production of artifacts and manuscripts at Chester-le-Street appears to have been minimal and not on the scale or in the style of Lindisfarne. The reduced community consisted of secular clergy living communally and keeping a form of the Divine Office, ruled by a provost (rather than a monastic abbot) under the bishop. By 970, when Aldred wrote his colophon to the Cuthbert collects in Quire XI in Durham A.IV.19, he was provost of the community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street under Bishop Ælfsige (968-990), although the colophon itself was written while they were travelling in Wessex.[6] Based on

[4] He also added Latin glosses to Bede's Commentary on *Proverbs* in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819.

[5] See the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony*, ed. and trans. T. JOHNSON SOUTH (Cambridge, 2002), but also Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie (Tract on the Origins and Progress of This the Church of Durham)*, ed. and trans. D. ROLLASON (Oxford, 2000). For a general account, see D. ROLLASON, "The wanderings of St. Cuthbert", in: *Cuthbert Saint and Patron*, ed. D. ROLLASON (Durham, 1987), pp. 45-61, and the essays in: *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. BONNER, D. ROLLASON, and C. STANCLIFFE (Woodbridge, 1989).

[6] "Aldred the provost wrote these four collects at Oakley, to the south of Woodyates, among the West Saxons, on Wednesday, Lawrence's feast day (the moon being five nights old), before tierce, for Ælfsige the bishop, in his tent". Identified as 10 August 970 at Oakley Down in Dorset, as discussed by BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 24-25, although David Dumville leaves open the possibility of 981 (D. DUMVILLE, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 106 n. 61). *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex*

the colophon dating the Cuthbert collects on f. 84r to the year 970, the rest of the additions on the surrounding folios were theoretically written around that date. This argument assumes that we are dealing with a single, bound manuscript containing the present, as well as the now lost, quires and folios. That may not have been the case during the second half of the tenth century when the Chester-le-Street scriptorium made their contributions to what is now Durham A.IV.19.

The constituent parts of the manuscript were retained and used after the transfer to Durham in 995 and thereby survived in the cathedral library down to the present.[7] Under the episcopacy of Aldhun, who oversaw the move to Durham, scribes annotated and perhaps compiled parts of the manuscript. The eleventh-century style of scribes M1-3, the last to make significant additions to the manuscript, demonstrates that the texts continued to be valued by the community. They may have even been the first to bind them together, but not the last. Later medieval and early modern marks of handling, however, are more of loss and damage. In addition to a few pen trials, a possible sixteenth-century numeration visible on two early pages indicates that the first folio now missing was intact some time in the sixteenth century, but by the end of the seventeenth century it was gone, either at the hand of reformers or more likely those in need of binding materials.[8] The pattern of the water discoloration in the upper corner of the manuscript, affecting from f. 22 on, indicates this damage happened after the transposition of Quires IX and X, which presumably occurred when it was rebound, for unknown reasons.[9]

In the eighteenth century, the manuscript became the object of antiquarian study, first mentioned in 1697 amid increasing interest in the primeval English language and religious practice.[10] Humphrey Wanley was the first scholar to

Lindisfarnensis, 2, p. 25 n. 11, locates Oakley Down a mile south of Woodyates, at 50° 58' N × 1° 58' W, on the main road from Salisbury to Blandford. See also A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, "Introduction", in: *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, pp. XIV-XIX and M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), p. 90.

[7] For the medieval Durham Cathedral library, see A. LAWRENCE-MATHERS, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 12-26.

[8] LINDELÖF, in: *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, pp. XLIII-XLIV, notes the number 13 on page 3 and a number 14 on p. 5; BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, does not mention or date these later page numbers.

[9] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 13.

[10] First mentioned by E. BERNARD in *Catalogi [librorum] manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1697), 2, p. 10, No. 362: "*Liber Collectarum Ecclesiasticarum, cum interpretatione Saxonica. Liber mutilatus*"; see BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 11.

describe its contents and scribal hands in 1705, as part of that early generation of scholars interested in recreating the scribal habits of the Anglo-Saxon past. By then, the manuscript was already bound with the quires and folios missing and with the reversal of Quires IX and X.[11] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the manuscript was catalogued by Durham scholars and the Palaeographical Society, primarily for its liturgical and philological interests.[12] Stevenson produced the first edition in 1841 for Surtees Society, but a new edition was deemed necessary by Thompson and Lindelöf in 1927.[13] Once Ker in 1942 argued successfully, in agreement with Wanley but against intervening nineteenth century palaeographers, that Aldred was both the Lindisfarne Gospels and Durham Ritual vernacular glossator and one of the main Latin hands in Durham A.IV.19, the manuscript became of great interest to scholars of the more famous Lindisfarne Gospels as well as to linguists interested in Aldred's Northumbrian dialect.[14] The 1963 *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*

[11] H. WANLEY, *Librorum veterum septentrionalium catalogus* (Oxford, 1705), in: G. HICKES, *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus*, repr. in: *English Linguistics 1500-1800*, ed. R.C. ALSTON, 1- (Menston, 1967-), 2, pp. 295-298. On Wanley and his Harley mentors, see D.C. DOUGLAS, *English Scholars 1660-1730*, 2nd edn. (London, 1951), pp. 98-118, and E. ADAMS, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800* (New Haven, 1917: *Yale Studies in English* 55), pp. 90-91.

[12] See BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 11-12; T. RUD, *Codicum manuscriptorum ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis catalogus classicus* (Durham, 1825), p. 71; R.A.B. MYNORS, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1939), No. 14, p. 25; *The Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Miniatures and Inscriptions: Series 1*, ed. E.A. BOND and E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, 2 vols. (London, 1873-1883), 2, Pls. 240-241; E.A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols. and *Supplement*, with 2nd edn. of vol. 1 (Oxford, 1934-1971) (*CLA*), II, No. 151; J. LINGARD, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2 vols. (London, 1845), 2, pp. 359-366; W.W. SKEAT, "Collation of the Durham Ritual, with notes, etc.", *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1877-1879), App. II, pp. 49*-72* (with the assistance of Henry Bradshaw, whose collation slip remains in the front of the manuscript; other slips are in James Murray's hand, according to BROWN, in: *The Durham Collector*, p. 13); W.H. FRERE, *The Leofric Collectar compared with the Collectar of St. Wulfstan* (London, 1921: *HBS* 56), pp. XX-XXI.

[13] *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. STEVENSON (London, 1840: *Surtees Society* 10); THOMPSON and LINDELÖF, in: *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, pp. VII-VIII and XLIII, politely refer to problems in the Stevenson edition. More recently, CORRÊA produced for *HBS* a critical edition of the original collectar (*Durham Collectar*), Latin only for the purposes of comparison with other service books, while I. MILFULL has included the hymns in *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Study and Edition of the "Durham Hymnal"* (Cambridge, 1996).

[14] N.R. KER, "Aldred the scribe", in: *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 28 (1942-1943), pp. 7-12, reprinted in: *Books, Collectors and Libraries*: *Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A.G. WATSON (London and Ronceverte, 1985), pp. 3-8; see also KER, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 106 and *Quattuor Evangeliorum Codex Lindisfarnensis*, 2, pp. 25-33. For the linguistic analysis, see the series of Aldrediana articles listed in A.S.C. ROSS,

(*EEMF*) edition by T. J. Brown brought all of this scholarship to bear on the manuscript, summarising the codicology, palaeography, contents, and language; the facsimile renumbers the quires and folios with Quires IX and X in sequence rather than their reversed bound state. The current binding is from after the 1927 Lindelöf edition but before Brown's 1963 facsimile edition; the previous binding Lindelöf attributed to the first half of the nineteenth century.[15] Its earlier binding history awaits further analysis, perhaps when it is next rebound.

Thus while the first or earliest binders of Durham A.IV.19 remain a mystery, the modern era of codicological study and palaeographic analysis is responsible for reifying Durham A.IV.19 as a single manuscript object. These modern scholars, from Wanley through T.J. Brown, also endeavoured to remake the manuscript, both at a micro level of script ductus and at a macro level of reordering and reproducing the quires. Standing at this moment looking back over Durham A.IV.19's long history of construction and study, the first issue is a codicological one: how and why did these folios come to be together with one another? The following analysis suggests a more fluid relationship between the parts of what is now a single bound volume.[16]

Codicology

We think today of a manuscript in terms of a product, a book or single bound volume. But even if initially conceived and constructed with that intent, every manuscript is made up of parts assembled through a team effort and over a long process where intentions can change and parts be reassembled. Consequently, the manuscript project – in whatever state of completeness or fragmentation – unveils living communities in action. The first thing to note about such a community is the craftsmanship required to produce the manuscript. The scriptorium existed – if there was a dedicated space for scribal activity – not just as a place with parchment, scribal tools, binding materials, and exemplars, but as a community of people with the skill and the desire to use these tools

"Aldrediana XVII: *Ritual* supplement", *English Philological Studies* 11 (1968), pp. 1-43.

[15] THOMPSON and LINDELÖF, in: *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, p. XLIII; BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 13. Since the reversal of Quires IX and X was well known by then, it is unclear why they were not restored in the most recent rebinding.

[16] Interestingly, Lingard's impression in the mid-nineteenth century was that Durham A.IV.19 was not a "continuous work" but "made up of fragments of liturgical books", possibly torn up at the time of the Reformation (LINGARD, *History and Antiquities*, 2, p. 359).

well and produce something of value to those around them. This craftsmanship should not be devalued as mere copying, for the act of writing, crafting each stroke to make letters in words to create text, coordinates hand, eye, and thought, in this case to produce a textual base for rituals requiring a conjunction of heart, mind, and soul.[17] Durham A.IV.19 tells us what the Chester-le-Street community and its successors valued enough for them to devote such energy to the production – writing and assembling – of what is admittedly an eclectic group of folios and texts, containing both information for, and their reflections on, ritual services they performed on a regular basis.

In fact, a better way to think about Durham A.IV.19 is as a collection of booklets or even folios not restricted to quires.[18] The relationship between text and foliation is a tricky one. Text can be continuous from one folio and from one quire to the next; but the fact of a text ending even with a quire break and starting a new text on the next quire does not in itself indicate separate booklets, although wear at the quire junctures is a clue. Moreover, a single folio or quires can be moved around even if it means breaking textual continuity if, for example, the text wanted is complete in the middle of that folio or quire; sometimes minor annotations and scribal marks indicate a particular text of interest. From other manuscript evidence, we know that booklets often circulated without the necessity of a full binding; they could be lightly stitched and folded for protection, or soft-bound in a cloth covering. Booklets were portable, quicker to assemble and possibly even disassemble, and easier to copy or modify. Such may be the case for Durham A.IV.19: what we may have is an original manuscript soft bound, plus some booklets and folios associated with it but only

[17] See R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008), especially chapter 5, "The Hand". On p. 8, Sennett attributes this emphasis on the hand-head connection to Hannah Arendt's philosophy that material things matter and "that people can learn about themselves through the things they make". The idea that "they think with things", as Robert DARNTON described it in *The Great Cat Massacre and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), p. 4, is found in the cultural anthropology of Clifford GEERTZ (*The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973)). For writing as a tool for thinking, see S.G. NICHOLS, "Why material philology?", *Zeitschrift für deutsche philologie* 116 (1997), pp. 10-30, at p. 19. Religious ritual adds another layer: these were texts meant to be performed.

[18] On booklets, see R. HANNA III, "Booklets in medieval manuscripts: Further considerations", *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), pp. 100-111; P.R. ROBINSON, "Self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 231-238, and ID., "The 'booklet': A self-contained unit in composite manuscripts", in: *Codicologica* 3: *Essais typologiques*, ed. A. GRUYS and J.P. GUMBERT (Leiden, 1980), pp. 46-69.

bound to it later.[19] It is possible that Chester-le-Street had scribal tools but not the means or the need to bind books, and that it was only at Durham that these folios were bound together as one. Consequently, each part of the manuscript has its own story to tell in relationship to the other parts.

The 'original' southern English collectar manuscript was a slim, portable volume of nine quires, mostly of five bifolia (10 folios), but with some singletons added, generally flesh side out with hair facing flesh in most openings.[20] The current pages are roughly 6½ × 9½ inches, with the text block usually 4½ × 7½ inches, averaging 22 or so lines per page.[21] Of the original nine quires, the entire first quire is missing as well as several other sections of the remaining quires. The following summary shows the extent of the losses:

- Quire I begins imperfectly after the loss of the original proto-Quire I and is missing its first folio.
- Quire II: of its original five bifolia, one bifolium had a cancelled folio and its singleton other half is now lost.
- Quire III remains only as a singleton, f. 18, with eight folios missing before and one after, if it was a five bifolia quire.
- Quire IV is missing its first four folios, continuing the loss from the end of Quire III.
- Quire V is missing a singleton insert as well as an end folio.
- Quire VI is intact with 5½ bifolia.[22]
- Quire VII is missing two folios at the beginning.[23]
- Quire VIII's six bifolia are intact, with blank pages left at the end from the middle of f. 61r through f. 65v (later filled in at Chester-le-Street).

At least some of these losses may have occurred when the manuscript was unbound, when singletons could fall out and beginning or end pages could be easily cut (the current tight binding inhibits investigation of cuts in the gutter).

[19] A closer examination of previous sewing stations, ideally with the manuscript unbound, might reveal different types of binding in different periods.

[20] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 12-13; CORRÊA, in: *Durham Collectar*, p. 76.

[21] LINDELÖF, in: *Rituale*, p. XLIII, gives the book measurements as 9¾ × 6½ inches, while BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 13, gives the text block measurement as ranging between 120-125 mm width by 180-190 mm length.

[22] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 12, says the inserted singleton is f. 38, but the collation slip in the manuscript indicates the fourth folio, which would be f. 37, while the diagram is unclear.

[23] CORRÊA, in: *Durham Collectar*, p. 210, says *four folios* are missing at the beginning of Quire VII (between ff. 44 and 45), either an error for four *pages* or because she thinks more content is missing than would have fit on two folios, recto and verso.

The likeliest explanations for most of the missing folios are late medieval or early modern cuts for binding material.[24] But conceivably some of these now missing parts could have been moved around in Aldred's day if the original collectar was disbound, which seems possible given the kinds of activities they were doing when they started altering the manuscript.[25]

The scribes at Chester-le-Street added materials in the blank pages at the end of Quire VIII and then three more quires, now numbered IX-XI. Quires IX and X are reversed in the current, modern binding and editions, including *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* (*ASM*), although the *EEMF* volume restores the correct order with new foliation.[26] The added quires are made of similar vellum to the original collectar, calfskin not of very fine quality with patches and decorated holes.[27] Although prepared in the so-called insular fashion that smooths both sides to a common feel – not an easy task even with an electric hand sander! – facing hair and flesh sides can be distinguished on many folios, while in some cases the parchment is very hard and shiny indicating higher fat content or cuts from less desirable portions of the calfskin.[28] The overall text block size is for the most part of the same dimen

[24] Doyle, citing Mynors, notes the frequency with which Durham manuscripts were raided for flyleaves in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, in A.I. DOYLE, "A fragment of an eighth-century Office book", in: *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. KORHAMMER *et al.* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 11-27, at p. 21. Yet, as noted *supra*, in the sixteenth century the manuscript may have still had the original Quire I. Whether it was lost at the hands of Reformers is unclear.

[25] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 16 n. 4, believes the original collectar remained bound at Chester-le-Street, citing the lack of comparable wear and tear at quire boundaries, but does not take into account the textual and scribal anomalies.

[26] Reader beware using the descriptions by WANLEY, *ASM*, or editions by STEVENSON and LINDELÖF that use different foliations and paginations than BROWN's *EEMF* facsimile, which I follow here.

[27] The folios are of similar quality membrane to the original collectar (BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 12-13), but it is unclear where or how the vellum was produced or acquired by Chester-le-Street. On decoration around patches, see S. LARRATT KEEFER, "Use of manuscript space for design, text and image in liturgical books owned by the community of St. Cuthbert", in: *Signs on the Edge: Space, Text and Margin in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. S. LARRAT KEEFER and R.H. BREMMER, JR. (Louvain, 2007), pp. 85-115.

[28] On the insular fashion, see R. CLEMENS and T. GRAHAM, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007), p. 15. At the Iowa seminar, Matt Hussey and I shared a calfskin that we sanded to the dermis on both sides in the insular fashion using an electric hand sander that undoubtedly speeded up the process at least ten-fold. Speedy power sanding has its own risks of over-doing it in a weak area, which I learned the hard way and ended up with an authentic hole

sions as the original quires, but with varying numbers of lines, columns, and size of hand. Quires IX (ff. 66-72) and X (ff. 73-76) with text continuous from one to the next, were made up, respectively, of 3½ bifolia and then seemingly four singletons (not two bifolia, as T.J. Brown erroneously reports) attached to it.[29] Quire XI (ff. 77-88) is an unusual six, rather than five bifolia, folded flesh-hair; it contains new materials of a different type from what precedes, primarily in Aldred's hand.

Even beyond the missing folios and odd shape of some of the added quires, codicological breaches occur both within the original collectar and in the additions. These ruptures may be correlated to indicate how the manuscript was handled while disbound:

- F. 47 is a singleton in Quire VII that could have been loose if the manuscript were disbound; significantly, this folio has texts similar to some of the additions and on the verso has extensive marginalia by later Scribe M3. F. 47v is also marked by an "*xb*'" ("*Christus benedictus*") sign in an upper corner, similar to one Aldred placed on f. 66r in the additions, where one of the field prayers is similar to a blessing found at the top of f. 47v.
- Ff. 53v-54r, facing pages at the juncture between Quires VII and VIII mark Aldred's one break in glossing in the original collectar; and it is exactly here that Scribe E copies a hymn over erasure (f. 53v), a hymn also copied by Scribe C in the additions but with slightly different abbreviations.[30]
- F. 61r, line 10 is the point at which the original collectar ends and the additions begin, but oddly with the one contribution from Scribe B; the verso is where Scribe C begins his more extensive work.[31]
- Wear between Quires VIII and IX at ff. 65-66 and between X and XI at ff. 76-77 demonstrate that the additions could have been separate booklets, one made up of Quires IX-X and the other Quire XI. Both Quire IX at f. 66r and Quire XI at f. 77r

in one of my folios. Sanding by hand, which we tried briefly, leaves a distinctive pattern, visible in many medieval manuscripts.

[29] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 13; LINGARD, *History and Antiquities*, 2, p. 363, thought they were loose folios of different sizes, hands, and characters.

[30] One possible sequence is that 53v was erased, Scribe E copied his hymn from an exemplar covering 54r, and then Aldred came along glossing and skipped over both facing pages. That scenario seems more likely than Aldred skipping the two facing pages for some unknown reason or by accident and then E taking the omission as an opportunity to erase the page and copy the hymn. Since the erased section is from a nun's mass, its erasure may reflect the community's lack of need for that particular ritual.

[31] KEEFER, *ASM* 14, guide, p. 38, also notes that the last item in the original collectar ends imperfectly, with no closing punctuation or doxology.

have an "*xb'*" ("*Christus benedictus*") mark in the upper left corner, perhaps designating a new quire or booklet.

- F. 75, third of four singletons in Quire X, has an addition by Scribe M1 in the blank space at the bottom of the verso, honouring Bishop Aldhun (990-1018), further suggesting the end of a quire or booklet, at least at the time of his addition and conceivably around the time of the move from Chester-le-Street to Durham (995).[32]
- F. 76, the last of four individual folios making up Quire X, is different in appearance and has material that stands alone; it is written by Scribe C on the recto and Scribe F on the verso. F. 76r at the bottom has a later abcedarial pen trial; f. 76v is very worn, as if it were an outer folio.
- Ff. 77 and 88 form a very stiff outer bifolium of Quire XI that could stand alone, leaving a more regular five bifolia booklet (ff. 78-87).[33] F. 77, at the beginning of Quire XI, has six hymns copied by Aldred, with enough room at the bottom of the verso for a later scribe (M2) to copy an episcopal benediction, another possible connection to Aldhun's episcopacy and the move to Durham. F. 78 begins a new series of devotional materials copied by Aldred in double columns that lasts through the top of f. 84r (first two lines of the left column).[34] Likewise, f. 88 starts with a new text, while the previous f. 87v ends in the right column with blank space to spare.
- F. 84 in Quire XI has material that stands alone apart from what precedes and follows, with main scribe Aldred on the recto (the famous colophon recording the acquisition of the Cuthbert collects) and Scribe E on the verso, who scraped a hole through to the recto.
- F. 89, the eighth-century Northumbrian lectionary binding sheet, cut and quarter turned, has two additions that connect to earlier parts of the manuscript. On f. 89r at the top, someone has copied the f. 75v bottom addition of later-tenth-century Scribe M1 mentioning Bishop Aldhun ("*Dns salu& honor& am& aldhunu antistitem*"), suggesting that f. 75 could at some point in the late tenth or early eleventh century have been the last page next to the binding sheet. On f. 89v top, abcedarial and other pen trials are now upside down, possibly indicating that the binding sheet was reversed at some point.

[32] Earlier in the immediately preceding continuous set of texts copied by Scribe C in Quire IX, *memoriae* and masses for saints and apostles, Scribe M3 has added Cuthbert's name above the neutral *nomen* for confessors (f. 69v, line 28). M3's only notes are in Quires IX-X except for one instance in the original collectar, significantly f. 47v, that possibly loose singleton.

[33] I am grateful to Dr. Jane Roberts, School of Advanced Studies at the University of London, for pointing out this feature at the Workshop on the Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, University of Westminster, April 2012.

[34] KEEFER, *ASM* 14, guide, p. 45.

Two major reconfigurations can be imagined based on the foliation and contents: 1) that the Quire IX-X booklet through f. 75 was at some point at the 'end' of the manuscript with f. 76 floating elsewhere; and 2) that Quire XI, or just its outer bifolium, which begins with hymns on f. 77, could be placed immediately after Quire VIII, which ends with hymns.

First, ff. 66-75 (Quires IX and the first three folios of Quire X) form a separate booklet of material made up of uneven quires and singletons. Quire IX's 3½ bifolia are laid flesh-hair, with the singleton in the middle (f. 69) seemingly soft on both sides. Quire X as it is now currently described is made up of four singletons, but I am arguing based on content and appearance that f. 76 was not always placed here with ff. 73-75. The first two folios of Quire X, ff. 73 and 74, are quite stiff, flesh-hair, while f. 75 is soft without a clear sense of hair or flesh side; a pasted fold is visible in the gutter. The material copied onto f. 73r continues the text from the last page of Quire IX, and more of the same type of material is copied on ff. 73r-75v, sundry masses. Since f. 75v ends with blank space into which Scribe M1 has later copied his tribute to Bishop Aldhun, this may be the last page in the booklet or even the manuscript at some point in its history. F. 76 is different from ff. 73-75: it is flesh-hair, stiff, shorter at the bottom, and very worn, especially on the verso. The material copied on both sides is unrelated to what precedes it. On the recto side, Scribe C copied eight collects for the canonical hours without rubrics, in a majuscule hand that differs from the material he finished on the previous folio (Brown accounts it a new writing campaign). On the back side, f. 76v, Scribe F copied antiphons, versicles, and responses for lessons on Kings, Wisdom, and Job. Theoretically, f. 76 could have been placed elsewhere in the manuscript, for example with the other antiphons and versicles Scribe F copied at ff. 64-65 or Scribe E at f. 84v.

Second, Quire XI's six bifolia (ff. 77-88) are primarily Aldred's handiwork, but the outer bifolium of ff. 77 and 88 could be separate, while the inner five bifolia contain two different kinds of materials separated by a break at f. 84 (after the midpoint of ff. 82-83). On f. 77 of the outer bifolium, Aldred copied hymns for ordinary days that could be placed immediately after Quire VIII where Scribe C ends with hymns for Easter and Lent.[35] Meanwhile, the back side of f. 88 contains texts (the apostles' burial places, an alphabet poem, and a canon table) that could be considered both educational and devotional. In

[35] Although they do make sense as two separate sets of hymns since Scribe C's are for Easter and Lent while Aldred's are for ordinary days.

between on the five bifolia booklet, Aldred copied first prayers and psalms of the Divine Office, followed after a break by a collection of so-called educational materials.

The break at f. 84 between these two sections of prayers and educational texts offers two significant departures: Aldred's copy of the Cuthbert collects with a colophon explaining their acquisition and two notes in experimental scripts (f. 84r) and, on the back side, an out of place addition by Scribe E of antiphons and versicles (f. 84v).[36] A small hole in this folio (84r-v, line a7) has been cited as evidence of calfskin due to some 'hair' still attached. However, in a close examination of this folio in the summer of 2007, I noticed that the hole occurs at a point on the verso side where Scribe E has just erased something, and that the hole on the recto side punches right through a letter in Aldred's Cuthbert collects. I did not see hair in this narrow, angled hole, but more like a hanging chad with the edges of the hole curling out on the recto side. I deduce that Scribe E wrote his text on the verso after Aldred copied his materials on f. 84r in Wessex, and that Scribe E accidentally punctured the hole while trying to scrape his error.[37] The way that Quire XI falls into two distinct parts with a transitional folio between (f. 84), as well as a possibly separate outer bifolium, is an indication that the quire as a booklet was multipurpose over a period of time. It also hints at a different sensibility in the handling of manuscript pages that should cause us to rethink the other quires.

This brief analysis of Durham A.IV.19's codicology raises many unanswered, and some unanswerable, questions about how the Chester-le-Street community, and later the Durham scriptorium, handled the manuscript. It is possible to speculate that the original collectar was unbound in Aldred's day, that the added quires remained as booklets loosely associated with the collectar, and that later the Durham scriptorium put them together, perhaps in part because of Aldred's handiwork in them.[38] A palaeographical analysis of the

[36] Scribe E's text on f. 84v is also the only one to exceed all margins compared to the text-blocks on other folios in Durham A.IV.19.

[37] If the hole had been there already, Aldred would have written around it on the recto; instead, an 'r' is damaged. On the verso, the hole occurs right after an erasure of an 'A' for antiphon; after the erasure and hole, Scribe E has gone on with the correct text, a 'U' for versicle.

[38] My thanks to my seminar colleague Constance Berman for this intriguing suggestion. One factor weighing against this argument of a Durham collation and in favour of a Chester-le-Street design is the relative consistency in the size of the text blocks between the original collectar and the additional quires (BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 13); the size of the pages is harder to estimate because of later cuts during book binding. However, it is conceivable that the Chester-le-Street scriptorium produced parchment and marked text on this uniform size matching

scribal hands helps unravel, as well as adds to, some of these codicological mysteries.

Palaeography

The materiality of the manuscript artifact extends into the realm of palaeography, the nexus for understanding text as object, an approach Stephen Nichols defined as material philology.[39] Nichols struggles, with other literary scholars, to escape the emphasis on authorial aesthetics undercutting the material and historical dimensions of the manuscript artifact, a problem that does not plague historians. Also, ritual texts such as those found in service books like Durham A.IV.19 do not usually have an authorial aesthetic or literary value attached to them, although liturgists may value them for their performative aesthetic as well as for their conformity to orthopraxis. For Durham A.IV.19, I would argue that these ritual texts had a written, material aesthetic apart from performance in services for these scribes, particularly Aldred with his non-performative vernacular gloss. Thus the text – its language, style, form, meaning – has its primary context in the witness of the manuscript. In examining the letter forms and in describing the hands, we are talking about people in a community whom we come to know through their scribal work – the texts they copied, where, how, when, and maybe sometimes why. In the case of Durham A.IV.19 we see layers or generations of scribal activity and for certain periods, a community of scribes each with distinctive traits but all working in relation to one another on a common task.[40]

The original collectar was copied and decorated by a single person, labelled by palaeographers as Scribe O, writing in an early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule and a West Saxon Old English.[41] The additional material is

the original collectar without necessarily planning to bind all of these quires together in a single book. It would be useful to compare the text block size to other manuscripts known to be at Chester-le-Street.

[39] NICHOLS, "Why material philology?", pp. 10-30; see also his "Introduction: Philology in a manuscript culture", *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 1-10 (as well as the other articles on the New Philology in that issue).

[40] For palaeographic information summarised in this section, see BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 14-41; BROWN, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, pp. 97-101; KER, "Aldred the scribe".

[41] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 11, 15, 18-23, 37-39. However, dating Scribe O's Anglo-Saxon minuscule to the early tenth century does not necessitate dating the manuscript that early, as Brown does in locating him in an "up-to-date milieu" (p.15). Scribe O could be older

far more complex, with six scribes at Chester-le-Street interacting: Aldred, the only one whose name is revealed, and Scribes B-F. Further evidence of scribal additions to Durham A.IV.19 by scribes M1-3 in the eleventh century demonstrate that the manuscript was still in use at least as a liturgical workbook after the move to Durham, and that Aldred's work was valuable as part of a continuing scribal tradition in St. Cuthbert's community.

The judgment of palaeographers on all the Chester-le-Street scribes is that they were a rather backward lot, provincial in that they were not up to date with the styles current in the south of England. On the other hand, they were not consistent enough with one another to suggest a common school or independent scribal tradition.[42] But perhaps these palaeographic standards of currency and consistency are skewed toward the prolific centres at Canterbury and Winchester, or Lindisfarne earlier. Palaeographic historians seek to identify an individual's hand and the school or style to which it belongs, so they often question how well one scribe could or would do several styles and conversely how closely different scribes can imitate one another.[43] The palaeographers' successes depend on their detective ability in recognising unique strokes and features that separate one medieval scribe from another in the same scriptorium or school, on the assumption generally that the scribes in question valued their ability to conform to a house style.[44] Scribes trained in this way would have a native hand, presumably what they were first trained in, and then other styles would be secondary and less skilful or natural than this native hand. Modern calligraphers, both Cheryl Jacobsen and Karen Gorst at the Iowa seminar, offer a different perspective on varying scribal hands. As professional artists, they are in the business of imitating different styles as well as experimenting to create their own styles, a modern value of creativity that we often assume is not shared by our early medieval scribes in a culture where conformity was highly valued.[45] And yet, I would argue that obvious variations of hand and style in an

or just as "old-fashioned" as palaeographers describe the Chester-le-Street scribes, while copying an out-of-date service book. Similarly, the style of decorations and abbreviations compared to other manuscripts and his West Saxon dialect of Old English may locate him as a southerner, but do not tell us where he was when he copied the manuscript.

[42] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 15, 42.

[43] Pat Conner's paper in this volume addresses the problem of two so exacting scribes that many would argue they are one.

[44] Matthew Hussey's analysis of MS Würzburg M.p.th.f. 79 in this volume notes the very human struggle against the scribe's *habitus*, trying to write a different script.

[45] In copying the work of medieval scribes, these modern artists can identify an individual calligrapher's work, recognise quirks within a particular hand, and even detect the influence of

early medieval manuscript are not necessarily a marker of low status or a dysfunctional scriptorium, but reflect the community's values in general and specific to that manuscript context. Perhaps they found the older styles and differences between hands appropriate to what they produced. They may also have valued experimentation enough to copy not only a text but also some of the variable letter forms of their exemplar.

Consequently, if we set aside the aesthetic judgments common to the previous generation of palaeographers, it is possible to describe each of these scribes more as innovators and less as backward. I do this carefully, since my brief and recent foray into calligraphy thanks to the seminar does not adequately compensate for my narrower palaeographic experience compared to T.J. Brown, Ker, Wanley, and Lowe, on whose work I rely. Nonetheless, having transcribed the texts as well as attempted to copy these hands has led me to a more favourable view than that of my predecessors studying the manuscript, in part because of a different cultural sensibility. As an outsider from halfway around the globe and as a scholar of 'popular religion', my vested interests are less toward the final products of elite groups representing a consistent Christian heritage and more toward identifying with the lowly processes by which communities practised their religion on an everyday level.[46] As a consequence, my obsession with Durham A.IV.19 is the product of my own aesthetic. I am 'sucked in' by its ordinariness and by its potential as a material artifact to reveal individual quirks and particular moments of activity.[47] Just as the manuscript was loved and used in its own time, so it has become a secular relic to the modern scholar in search of a community. In a way not dissimilar to Michelle Brown's obvious love and care for BL Cotton Nero D.iv and the community that produced it, evident in her *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*, I have come to know and care about the idiosyncrasies of Aldred and Scribes B-F and to view them in a more positive light.

The scribes at Chester-le-Street wrote primarily an insular minuscule or attempts at the new Caroline script with insular features mixed in, which pre-

another style. See the contribution by Cheryl Jacobsen to this volume.

[46] Note the disappointment of earlier scholars (LINGARD, *History and Antiquities*, 2, p. 359) that Durham A.IV.19 did not live up to its promise of being the earliest ritual of the English Church, but rather turned out to be a miscellany of liturgical fragments, some of them qualifying as superstition.

[47] Elaine Treharne used the memorable phrase 'sucked in' to describe this kind of manuscript obsession, while Matthew Hussey identified ordinariness and ugliness as a type of manuscript aesthetic.

vious palaeographers have judged 'old-fashioned', an aesthetic of currency or newness not shared by the northern scribes in the context of their rich local traditions. Rather, the Chester-le-Street additions in Durham A.IV.19 do exhibit a high degree of scribal experimentation. The contrast between 'clumsy' B's one contribution and C's prolific and skilled contributions shows the range of expertise in the scriptorium, while Scribes D, E, and F add a handful of texts in mixed script forms suggesting an openness to variety. Scribe C, and to a lesser extent Scribe D, were competent in majuscule as well as minuscule. Aldred, already fluent in distinct Latin and Anglo-Saxon scripts, even tried his hand at majuscule before reverting to his more natural minuscule (the ff. 66r-67v, line 5 field prayers) as well as experimented with styles in the memoranda accompanying the colophon on f. 84r.[48]

Although Scribe C is the major contributor in the additions to Quires VIII-X, Aldred is by far the dominant personality in the Chester-le-Street group, since he does the Old English gloss throughout and writes most of the text in Quire XI, including the self-identifying colophon and memoranda. Both Aldred and C display the necessary "confidence, control, and speed" noted by Pat Conner for scribal competency that reflects Richard Sennett's ten thousand hours standard for craftsmanship.[49] Aldred's expertise was a formal Anglo-Saxon minuscule using a minimum of strokes combined with ligatures allowing him to write cursively at speed, a trait I came to admire when I attempted to copy it. This was the style he must have been trained in, developed extensively while glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels, and then used with ease and relative consistency in the Durham gloss.[50] Scribe C, a Northumbrian like Aldred, wrote most of the additional liturgical texts in a skilled hand different from Aldred's that varied between Anglo-Saxon majuscule and minuscule with

[48] See Aldred's curious 'memorandum' on f. 84r bottom lauding Saints Helen and Mary. Although so worn that it is almost illegible, the letter forms are an odd combination of Greek and Roman, capitals and minuscule (BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 25). For an analysis of the field prayers, see K.L. JOLLY, "Prayers from the field: Practical protection and demonic defense in Anglo-Saxon England", *Traditio* 61 (2006), pp. 95-147.

[49] Pat Conner, essay in this volume; SENNETT, *The Craftsman*, p. 247. Dr. Shin`ichi Suzuki, the founder and developer of the Suzuki method of string instruction, had a saying my children learned from their Matsumoto-trained violin teacher about repetitive practice of difficult passages: "ten times knowledge, ten thousand times ability".

[50] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 26-27, based on Ker and others, gives as one reason the Lindisfarne Gospels were done first and then the Durham Ritual gloss, is the stabilisation midway through Lindisfarne of his use of 'v' for both 'u' and 'wyn', evident in Durham. Aldred's work in Bodley 819 was done between his additions to the Lindisfarne and Durham manuscripts.

apparent ease.[51] Its lack of 'currency' notwithstanding, his writing style is competent, probably developed over a long career of scribal activity. His style reflects older Northumbrian traditions with a predilection toward trying new things, at least in these seemingly transitional folios in Durham A.IV.19. He was presumably trained in the north, possibly at Chester-le-Street, since his minuscule hand is unlike any known contemporary style, while his majuscule resembles a relic of eighth-century Northumbrian style, a sample of which is found in the binding sheet (f. 89). While Scribe C's use of this older majuscule might be attributed to ignorance of current fashion due to isolation, it could arguably be a conscious archaising and preservation of the Lindisfarne tradition.

Meanwhile, the contributions of Scribes B, D, E, and F are so intertwined with the work of the dominant Scribes C and Aldred that they must have been working around the same time and in close enough proximity to have interrupted each others' work.[52] Scribe D, similar to C, uses a majuscule mixing more into minuscule as he went along. Scribes E and F, however, show more influence from the new Caroline minuscule, although the insular habits intruding mark their early training in the older style. These differing skills may provide a prime example of craftsmanship developing in a workshop, as Sennett describes it, where there is a willingness to experiment and even err in the process.[53] Weaker hands may be complemented by stronger, each compensating to accommodate the other. For example, Scribe B's Anglo-Saxon minuscule is inexpert enough to suggest inexperience if not youth – he may very well have been a pupil in the scriptorium even if he was learning an 'old-fashioned' hand from the expert scribes in the Chester-le-Street community. Scribe B caught some of his own mistakes, while others Aldred corrected when he glossed the text. While transcribing and also while attempting to replicate Scribe B's hand with my own inexpert calligraphy, I discovered a variety of letter forms illustrating his learning curve – for example he favours square 'a' compared to Aldred's pointed 'a' visible in his gloss and his corrections, but then B does try a pointed 'a' in several places, as if Aldred had said, "try it this way".

[51] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 14-15, 29-32, 41. Scribe C's Northumbrian dialect is evidenced in one phrase he wrote in Old English.

[52] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 14-15, 29, 32-34, 41-42.

[53] SENNETT, *The Craftsman*, pp. 160-65; see also NICHOLS, "Why material philology?", pp. 17-18.

The sequence of copying by Aldred and scribes B-F at Chester-le-Street, combined with the points at which scribes M1-3 later intervened, correlate with the codicological breaches in the manuscript noted above: places where folios are marked, missing, or potentially dis- or misbound. This correlation hints at some interesting working relationships between the Chester-le-Street scribes. Scribes D, E, and F interrupt Scribe's C's work in Quire VIII, evidenced in the changing column formats that force C to realign his work temporarily before reverting to his preferred single column. Aldred starts the Quire IX-X booklet with his field prayers, but disappears from the rest of the booklet, which is, like the additions in Quire VIII, dominated by Scribe C. However, Quire XI seems to be Aldred's quire, as compared to Scribe C's dominance in Quires VIII-X, while the other scribes mostly filled leftover spaces with shorter materials. Aldred may very well have left on his journey to Wessex while further work on Quires VIII-X took place, taking with him the partially complete Quire XI, to which he added the Cuthbert prayers and colophon.[54]

Overall, the scribal alternations in Durham A.IV.19 imply that while Aldred or Scribe C might have been in charge, not everything went according to a preconceived plan. The way that Scribes D, E, and F seem to disrupt the flow of the dominant hands of C and Aldred suggests that the stronger scribes in charge were allowing the others to have a turn, at least in those folios where continuity of style or even of content was less of an issue than it would be in a single, planned bound service book volume. Instead, these folios, which could be constituted as booklets or even shifted around in relation to one another, served as a place to record and track texts of interest to the community. What they did with them after that is less clear, but it was not a futile exercise in copying since the next generation of scribes, M1-3, also seems to have taken an interest in these texts.

Writing primarily in a Caroline minuscule, these eleventh-century hands probably worked on the manuscript after the community's move to Durham and illustrate what previous palaeographers have valued as the 'modernisation'

[54] Although G. BONNER, "St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street", in: *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200*, pp. 387-395, at p. 393, BROWN, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, p. 98, and D. ROLLASON, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 271-272, assert that Aldred acquired the Durham A.IV.19 manuscript (e.g., the original collectar) on the occasion of the colophon in 970, this seems unlikely since f. 84r occurs in the middle of materials already in the process of copying. A contrary view is argued by LINDELÖF, in: *Rituale*, p. XII, CORRÊA, in: *Durham Collectar*, pp. 77 and 120, and BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 17, who suggests that quire XI was carried in the bishop's bag.

of the community's scriptorium, particularly in comparison to the Chester-le-Street group of Aldred and Scribes B-F.[55] M1's brief prayer of protection on f. 75v for Bishop Aldhun, who moved the community to Durham in 995, is in a pure Caroline script, and therefore 'up to date' with scriptoria elsewhere.[56] All three scribes demonstrate that these folios were in use under Bishop Aldhun, whose interest in them may illustrate the dictum that all books are bishop's books.[57] The Durham community evidently valued not just the original collectar but the additions by the crew at Chester-le-Street, most prominently Aldred.

Combined with the quire collation, this scribal activity confirms that Durham A.IV.19 while at Chester-le-Street was not treated as a single liturgical volume, but managed as a collection of booklets used for different purposes in relation to one another. Although most scholars have asserted that the volume would not have been used in services, it is conceivable that some of the booklets or even an individual folio could have been carried to places where the priests would need to use the texts – particularly those heavily marked pages with miscellaneous blessings for house and field. At this point, it is hard to continue thinking of Durham A.IV.19 as a single volume but rather as a collection of materials bound only by the scribes who wrote them.

Community

In the community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street we see a group of individuals expressing themselves in and through an object, the manuscript page. What they copy by way of text and where they copy it are both communal, and they have a share in it, like this volume of essays. But these early

[55] BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, p. 42.

[56] M2 was at Durham under Bishop Aldhun's episcopacy doing two *Liber Vitae* land grant entries in Anglo-Saxon, while his contribution in Durham A.IV.19 is the addition of a Latin episcopal benediction on f. 77v in Anglo-Saxon minuscule but with simpler Caroline strokes replacing insular wedges. M3's contributions include Old English instructions, Latin liturgical text, and musical notation in the margin on the much-used f. 47v and Latin text at 68v, as well as the interlinear addition of Cuthbert's name. The Old English betrays a southern dialect and his hand a style of the mid-eleventh century, also identified in other manuscripts of the community. M3 may have added to the land memorandum in MS London, British Library, Cotton Domitian vii with M2, but is more securely identified with brief Latin passages and musical notation in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 183. BROWN, in: *Durham Ritual*, pp. 34-35.

[57] Elaine Treharne at the seminar.

medieval scribes were not just studying these texts, they were performing them or endeavouring to perform them by inscribing them in a set of folios. While we cannot recreate the performance of the text or of the writing, we do have the witness of the manuscript, testimony to the existence of this group of individuals living in community.

Consequently, to call Durham A.IV.19 an archive because of its miscellaneous production and assemblage undercuts the degree to which it was valued by the community. We have a manuscript with different scribes, formats, and genres of text up against each other, and even texts of the same genre, liturgy, stand in isolation from their customary order. What does this scribal experimentation – their struggle and willingness to err – tell us about this group of people? While the quality and quantity of manuscript production at Chester-le-Street points to inadequate resources, the manuscript also reveals a certain vibrancy amongst them. The bishop, provost, and scribes were willing to experiment on parchment that may appear poor quality by others' standards but was nonetheless valuable in a community that did not have much. The eclectic group of Aldred and Scribes B-F let their differences be on display, at least within their community. Given the time, energy, and even enthusiasm (in the case of Aldred with his gloss and colophon) they put into their task, the community must have deemed it a productive activity. Clearly Durham A.IV.19 was a used and therefore useful book, as evidenced by the retention of the manuscript at Durham and the later scribal activity there.

A fuller study of Durham A.IV.19's modifications at Chester-le-Street sheds light on book production processes usually invisible in the more deluxe kinds of manuscripts that have normally survived to the present.[58] Much has been done with the identification of house styles and manuscript production at major centres, but less has been adduced about the way that small religious communities handled texts and books that came into their possession. The Iowa seminar in some ways replicated that communal experience of working together on shared tasks as well as individual projects – we even experienced an evacuation similar to the Cuthbert community, fleeing not from Vikings but rising floodwaters. Just as the essays in this volume represent the fruits of our interactions at the seminar, many of them works in progress, so Durham A.IV.19 exposes in raw form the actual daily working habits of an ordinary

[58] For a fuller, book-length analysis and edition of Durham A.IV.19's additional texts, see K.L. JOLLY, *The Community of St. Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century: The Chester-le-Street Additions to Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19* (Columbus, OH, 2012).

group of scribes in the early Middle Ages making best use of the manuscript resources at their disposal.

"*Lymned to his awne vse*": The Illuminated Realm of John Lacy, Book Artisan and Anchorite, in MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94

MARTHA RUST

In his *Eight Chapters on Perfection*, medieval theologian Walter Hilton advises, "*make redi a place and privei chambre to thi lord I*esu *Crist thi spouse in thi soule, bi swete meditacion, bi continuell orisons, and bi ofte confessions*" (p. 17).[1] For John Lacy (fl. 1407-1434), who compiled one of the manuscripts that preserves Hilton's *Eight Chapters* – MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94 – the practice of preparing a metaphorical "*privei chambre*" for Christ in his soul would have been supported by his incarceration in the very real private cell that constituted the material and spiritual foundation of his devotional life. Lacy was the early fifteenth-century anchorite of the Dominican convent of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; as an anchorite, he had chosen a life of permanent enclosure in a small cell attached to the side of the friary's church.[2] While Lacy's historical cell is long gone, he has left us a telling rendi-

[1] Quoting from Fumio KURIYAGAWA's edition of the 'Inner Temple Manuscript' of the text, which includes variants from MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94: *The Inner Temple Manuscript of Walter Hilton's* Eight Chapters on Perfection (Tokyo, 1971), offprint from *Studies in English Literature*, 1971.

[2] I discuss the known details of Lacy's biography below. For a concise overview of the anchoritic tradition in medieval England, see E.A. JONES, "Anchorites and hermits in historical context", in: *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, ed. D. DYAS, V. EDDEN, and R. ELLIS (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 3-18; two essential works are M.R. CLAY, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914; reprinted Detroit, 1968) and A.K. WARREN, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, 1985). For a survey of the

tion of it in a self-portrait in MS St. John's 94 (Plate 8[3]), in which he depicts himself praying to the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the apostle John.[4] A space for dwelling in prayer, a room closed off from the world that made way for an openness to God: the stony confines of Lacy's cell are portrayed in this image as the threshold to mystic rapture. As a book artisan as well as an anchorite, however, Lacy also had privileged access to an annex to his anchorhold in the form of the bookish 'cells' of text and image he created and, in the process, projected himself into, in the case of MS St. John's 94, in quite explicit ways.[5] A study of that manuscript, the sole surviving product of Lacy's artisanship, presents a view of a book that serves as both medium and environment for an anchoritic practice peculiarly suited to a book artisan: a practice that bears some resemblance to the functionality of a book: closing, so as to honour and preserve; opening, so as to attract and communicate.[6]

In MS 94 the scope and metaphysics of this book-based spiritual practice are most brilliantly reflected in a fifteen-line address to readers that Lacy executes entirely in gold leaf (Plate 9):

> *Preyeth for þe saul of frere Ion lacy anchor and reclused in þe new castel vpon tynde þe wiche þat wrooth þis book and lymned hit to his awne vse, and aftur to othur, in exitynge hem to deuocion and preyers to god. And þerfor, for þe blessinge and loue of god, and oure lady, and of seint michael, and of him þ^t^ made þis*

archaeology of anchorites' cells, see R. GILCHRIST, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London, 1995), pp. 183-193.

[3] The plates can be found at the end of the volume.

[4] According to Kathleen Scott, this is one of only two known self-portraits of manuscript illuminators, the other being possibly one by John Siferwas in MS London, British Library, Harley 7026 (K. SCOTT, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols. (London, 1996: *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* 6), 2, p. 62.

[5] I term Lacy a 'book artisan' throughout this essay since he was responsible not only for the text but also for the illumination, borders, and miniatures in MS 94.

[6] A copy of *The Pilgrimage of The Lyfe of the Manhode*, the Middle English prose translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine*, is attributed to Lacy in the catalogue of the library of sixteenth-century book collector Henry Savile of Banke (A.W. WATSON, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), No. 60). J.B. FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, 1995), p. 52, suggests that the volume may be MS London, British Library, Additional 35213. A Wycliffite New Testament, now MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 258, preserves a note of Lacy's ownership: "*Iste liber constat fratri Iohanni Lacy. ordinis predicatorum recluso noui castri super tynam*" (my transcription).

> *book, þ^t neuer man ne woman lete departe þe engeliche from þe latyn for diuers causes þ^t been good and lawful to my felynge.*[7]

In addition to suggesting that Lacy made this sumptuously decorated book for his personal use, his reference to his "*awne vse*" in the opening lines of this aureate inscription frames the book's texts as the corpus of his own, personalised liturgical Use – as opposed, for instance, to the Use of Rome, York, or Paris.[8] As the passage continues, however, Lacy anticipates that his "*awne vse*" will also be of use to others, "*in exitynge hem to deuocion and preyers to god*". While this sentiment has the ring of convention – a notion of the benefit of books that might have sprung quickly to the lips of any of Lacy's Dominican brethren – the final, longest, and most emphatic section of this address brings Lacy the book artisan to the fore. In MS 94, Latin and English texts appear in separate quires; thus, Lacy's plea that "*never man ne woman lete departe þe engeliche from þe latyn*" reflects his understanding of the real possibility of a book's usefulness deteriorating with its use: in the case, for instance, of quires containing Latin texts becoming separated from those containing English. Indeed, Lacy's expansiveness on this point appears all the more justifiable when we realise, as Ralph Hanna has pointed out, that f. 102, the folio upon which this inscription concludes, is the final leaf of a quire, the site of precisely such a potential rift.[9]

But if Lacy's address moves from matters of liturgical use at its opening to the perils attendant upon the use of books at its close, thus giving voice in turn to a vocation as anchorite and an avocation as book artisan, the practice and product of a more synergetic calling are also present and visible here, not in the text of the inscription but rather in its materials: in Lacy's 'use' of gold leaf. In these gold letters, we see Lacy quite 'literally' illuminated by his hybrid devotion even as we catch a glimpse of the bookish realm that is both its product and its supportive environment. In the light of this passage, then, we may con-

[7] N.F. BLAKE, A.S.G. EDWARDS, and R.E. LEWIS, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York, 1985) (*IPMEP*), No. 547, my transcription with light emendation of punctuation and expansion of abbreviation.

[8] Lacy's specification here may also be an indication of the project's having been a departure from his custom, as a scribe and illuminator, of making books for others, the now-lost copy of *Le Pèlerinage* (see *supra*, n. 6) being one example.

[9] R. HANNA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2002), p. 128. According to Hanna's collation, it is the final leaf of a booklet as well. Neither of the two booklets upon which this passage borders (booklets 3 and 4) contains English texts, though booklets later in the volume do (booklets 5 and 6).

ceptualise Lacy's "*awne vse*" as a book artisan-*cum*-anchorite's answer to Hilton's advice to make ready a "*privei chambre*" for Christ, for in writing and illuminating MS 94 – and in the process, filling it with images for "*swete meditacion*", with "*orisons*", and with texts pertaining to "*oft confessions*" – Lacy creates a habitat for 'dwelling in' all of these activities. As I show in this essay, that domain is one that emanates from the book's materials – whether from the shine of gold leaf or from the 'enlightenment' offered by an *exemplum* – yet it is not identical with the book itself. A liminal space, that domain nurtures solitary devotional practice even as it opens to members of multiple communities, inviting them to find themselves alongside an anchorite and book artisan in his illuminated realm.

Situating MS St. John's 94

Since the materials of MS 94 are so fundamental to the peculiarly codicological 'use' it activates, I prepare the ground for a full description and analysis of that bookish devotional practice by first situating the volume in a range of interlocking systems that supported its production as a material object, from bibliophilic to biologic, diachronic to synchronic. As an approach to that undertaking, a cursory description of the manuscript is in order.[10] Briefly, then: MS 94 is a chubby book of 153 parchment leaves measuring 10 ½ × 7 inches dated in two places: 1420, below the self-portrait described above (Plate 8); and 1434, at the end of a note of donation on f. 1r (Plate 10). At each of these points, Lacy also identifies himself as the book's maker, while the note of donation and the gold-leaf passage just discussed also securely identify Newcastle-upon-Tyne as the site of the book's production. The first and largest section of the volume is devoted to liturgical works; it begins with a series of

[10] The most recent and thorough description of the manuscript is HANNA, *A Descriptive Catalogue*; earlier descriptions include those by J.J.G. ALEXANDER and E. TEMPLE, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford, 1985), No. 418; *A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments (from St. John's College Oxford MS. 94. 1420-1434)*, ed. J. FINCH ROYSTER, 1, *Text and Notes* (Chapel Hill, 1910: *Studies in Philology Published under the Direction of The Philological Club of the University of North Carolina* 6), pp. 5-39, at pp. 5-7; and H.O. COXE, *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis Auliisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1852), 2, p. 26. The manuscript is also used as a source in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* and is hence briefly described there (A. MCINTOSH *et al.*, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1985), 1, p. 153).

thirty-one commemorations of saints in text and image (ff. 1-16), including a rare image of St. Anne holding an infant Mary holding a hornbook, and it concludes with the Litany (ff. 50v-56v), the Office of the Dead with musical notations, and the psalm of commendation (Ps. 118) (ff. 57r-101v). Throughout this liturgical section of the book, three- to six-line initials mark major divisions of text while minor divisions get one-line initials in alternating blue and gold leaf. Major initials are filled with foliage or flowers; in the Office for the Dead initials are often filled with faces, mostly in profile (for examples, see Plates 12-14). Following Lacy's address to readers discussed above and prayers to be said at rising and retiring (ff. 101v-102v), the second, shorter section of the book (ff. 103-153) is given to a selection of prayers in Latin and to devotional tracts in English, including an exposition on the ten commandments (*IPMEP* 650), a series of Middle English instructional lists, four of Walter Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection* (*IPMEP* 677, chapters 2, 3, 5, and 8), the *Letter of St. Jerome to Demetriades* (*rectius* Pelagius), an *exemplum* attributed to the *Vitae Patrum*, and two short works on confession.[11]

So much for a basic sketch of MS 94; in what follows, I touch on additional features of the manuscript and its maker by way of a survey of the geography and biocultural ecology of the environs of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This overview will demonstrate the continuities between that larger world and the physical dimensions of Lacy's book and will make way, in turn, for an investigation of Lacy's hand in calling forth in the space of his book a microcosmic other world.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne is located on the north bank of the river Tyne eight miles west of the North Sea, a point at which the river has descended to 266

[11] For editions of texts in this section of the manuscript see the following: for the treatise on the Ten Commandments, *A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments*; for the instructional lists, S.J. OGILVIE-THOMSON, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Woodbridge, 1991: *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist* 8), pp. 87-88, items 3-12; for the letter to Demetriades, C. PEPLER, "John Lacy: A Dominican contemplative", *Life of the Spirit* 5 (1951), pp. 397-406; for a prayer attributed to Thomas Aquinas, A.I. DOYLE, "A prayer attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas", *Dominican Studies* 1 (1948), pp. 229-238; and for Hilton, KURIYAGAWA, "Inner Temple manuscript". The exemplum, which Hanna deems unique (HANNA, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 127), is printed for the first time in my Appendix. The concluding works on confession include a poem (*The Index of Middle English* Verse, ed. C. BROWN and R.H. ROBBINS (New York, 1943) (*IMEV*), No. 2372) and a prose guide: R.R. RAYMO, "Works of religious and philosophical instruction", in: *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1500*, 1- (New Haven, 1967-), vol. 7, ed. A.E. HARTUNG (New Haven, 1986), No. 211 at p. 2562, neither of which has been published.

feet above sea level from its origins at nearly 3000 feet in the Pennines.[12] Beginning at the town of Wylam, roughly ten miles west of Newcastle, the river Tyne forms the boundary between the counties Durham and Northumberland; situated at these counties' shared boundary, medieval Newcastle was in the dark heart of a "violent and backward" north largely invented by southerners.[13] While its negative reputation arose from prejudicial responses to perceived cultural difference, England's north-east richly deserves to be set apart in a positive sense for its natural resources, biodiversity, and scenic splendour. Newcastle is perhaps most famously associated with coal; indeed, it is built on a deposit of carboniferous rock that extends a little south as well as west and north-west to form what has been known as the Great Northern Coalfield. Coal mining in the area began in the thirteenth century; by the late fourteenth, Newcastle was shipping 15,000 tons of coal annually to London and Europe and was also importing iron ore from Sweden and Spain. But iron was mined locally too, the earliest record of which is from Muggleswick in County Durham in 1298.[14]

Molecules of north-east iron may very well be present on every single page of MS 94 as a constituent of its ink. The most commonly used ink in the European Middle Ages was one made from oak galls and iron sulphate, and the rich black colour of Lacy's script leaves no doubt that he followed this standard practice.[15] But since oak gall ink was used virtually everywhere in late medieval England, and iron sulphate could be acquired from different sources –

[12] "Tyne, River", in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2009. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, at http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9073993.

[13] Beckingsale, quoted in A.J. POLLARD, "The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north", in: *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*, ed. J.C. APPLEBY and P. DALTON (Thrupp, 1997), pp. 131-143, at p. 131.

[14] D. SIMPSON, "Medieval coal and industry: Newcastle and the North East 1100 AD-1500 AD", *Norman and Medieval England 1066-1500*, http://www.englandsnortheast.co.uk/NewcastleCoal.html. On Newcastle's stature in shipping coal and other exports in the fifteenth century, see also G.V. SCAMMELL, "English merchant shipping at the end of the Middle Ages: Some east coast evidence", *Economic History Review*, n.s. 13 (1961), pp. 327-341; on the English iron trade, see W.R. CHILDS, "England's iron trade in the fifteenth century", *Economic History Review*, n.s. 34 (1981), pp. 25-47.

[15] Christopher DE HAMEL explains the materials and procedures entailed in medieval ink-making in *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto, 1992), pp. 32-33; see also D.V. THOMPSON, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York, 1956), pp. 81-83, and R. CLEMENS and T. GRAHAM, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007), pp. 19-20, whose discussion includes an image and English translation of a medieval ink recipe (from MS Chicago, Newberry Library, 25).

from ferrous soil to soaking iron nails in water – its use in MS 94 does not link it specifically to the Newcastle-area mining.[16] A more patently genuine deposit of local iron may be discovered in what Mary Rotha Clay calls "a plain Tyneside simile" in one of the manuscript's texts (as opposed to its ink).[17] In the second of Hilton's *Eight Chapters* – devoted to advice on coping with "*withdrawynge of deuocion*" – Lacy's text recommends resorting to prayer as "*stronge as yron*" (f. 141v), where other manuscripts advise praying "*with greet enforce*".[18] But perhaps the most obvious display in MS 94 of Newcastle's iron and coal – or, more precisely, of the wealth it generated – is in its abundance of gold leaf together with its varied palette of organic and mineral-based colours, its blue in particular. Such a quantity of gold in a manuscript made by an anchorite is striking, but as Christopher De Hamel explains, gold leaf, given its definitive ultra-thin profile, was not as extravagant as it appears.[19] Blue, on the other hand, was the dearest colour: the deepest, richest blue needed lapis lazuli, which was imported all the way from Afghanistan; its substitute, azurite, was expensive as well.[20] The abundance of books produced in England's north-east, well documented by John B. Friedman, gives ample evidence of the availability in the region of the deluxe book-making materials employed in MS 94.[21] For his access to them, our anchorite of Newcastle-upon-Tyne would have depended on the generosity of his patrons, whose munificence in turn would have been helped along by the region's own generous endowment of natural resources and optimal situation for shipping and trading. Surviving records of bequests suggest that Lacy was indeed well supported by the community of Newcastle. In 1429, for instance, Newcastle merchant and mayor Roger Thorn-

[16] DE HAMEL, *Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 33. On the other hand, as Childs points out, objects like nails (and horseshoes and keys) were precisely the kinds of items that local iron ore was used for in England while the better quality imported iron was used for "war materials, shipbuilding, great domestic and church building" (CHILDS, "England's iron trade", p. 25).

[17] R.M. CLAY, "Further studies on medieval recluses", *British Archaeological Association*, third series 16 (1953), pp. 74-86, at p. 77.

[18] Lacy's variant is not noted in KURIYAGAWA's edition, p. 16.

[19] DE HAMEL, *Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 59.

[20] CLEMENS and GRAHAM note that lapis lazuli blue was called ultramarine since the required mineral came from *ultra-mare*, "beyond the sea" (*Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 32). On the ingredients and relative costliness of blue and other pigments, see also J.J.G. ALEXANDER, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992), p. 40.

[21] The robustness of late-medieval book production in the north-east is suggested in Friedman's identification of nearly 300 manuscripts of known (or at least nearly certain) northern provenance (FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, Appendix B).

ton left Lacy the handsome sum of six marks annually to celebrate mass for him.[22]

The wealth generated by the north-east's carboniferous deposits may have formed the bedrock of its thriving book production in the fifteenth century – and of Lacy's artisanship in particular – but another aspect of the region's geology is implicated in its preeminent stature in the *longue durée* of book production in England and in the history of monkish and solitaries' book production especially: igneous rock, otherwise known as cooled magma. Two of Northumberland's scenic gems are products of movements of igneous rock: the Cheviot Hills and the Farne Islands. The latter are isolated extrusions of the Whin Sill – a layer of igneous rock that stretches from the islands to the Pennines – which presented an attractive prospect to evangelising Irish monks in the seventh century, accustomed as they were to island hermitages and monasteries. The great flowering of British Christianity known as the Age of Bede (*c.* 660-740) and the Hiberno-Saxon style of manuscript illumination that grew along with it both had their roots among the Farnes: specifically, in the monastery founded on Lindisfarne by St. Aidan (*c.* 635). St. Cuthbert (*c.* 634-687), Northumberland's patron saint, was for a while the bishop of Lindisfarne,

[22] *The Register of Thomas Langley Bishop of Durham*, ed. R.L. STOREY, 6 vols. (Durham, 1959: *Surtees Society* 164, 166, 169, 170, 177, 182), 3, p. 165. The bequest of six marks compares well to the annual two-mark stipend for the nuns of Markyate Priory mentioned in the records of visitations by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln in the year 1442. In fact, two marks seemed to Alnwick to be leading the nuns into a dissolute lifestyle, for which reason he commanded that the annual stipend be cut to one noble (half a mark): *The Records of the Visitations Held by William Alnwick*, 2 parts = *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. A.H. THOMPSON, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1919-1927), 2-3, part 2, p. 230. For other legacies to Lacy, see FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, p. 52. Together with the record of Lacy's ordination as subdeacon in 1397 and then as priest in 1398 (A.B. EMDEN, *A Survey of Dominicans in England Based on the Ordination Lists in Episcopal Registers (1268 to 1538)* (Rome, 1967), p. 76), these records of bequests comprise the sum total of the documents of his life external to MS 94. Internal records of Lacy's life (in addition to the dated self-portrait and note of donation already mentioned) include a record of the deaths of his parents, John and Tylote, in the calendar on the line for March 8 (f. 10, no year is given); and a coat of arms at the foot of f. 101v, identified as "Or on a fesse gules, a fleur-de-lys, gold" by R.M. CLAY, "Further studies on medieval recluses", p. 75, n. 8. Friedman's synopsis of Lacy's biography (FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, pp. 52-53) is the most recent and thorough; see also J. HUGHES, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 108, 110, and 119; WARREN, *Anchorites and Their Patrons*, pp. 69, 252, and 259; R.M. CLAY, "Some northern anchorites, with a note on enclosed Dominicans", *Archaeologia Aelinana*, fourth series 33 (1955), pp. 202-217, at pp. 210-212 and CLAY, "Further studies", pp. 75-78; and PEPLER, "John Lacy: A Dominican contemplative", pp. 397-400.

though he preferred the life of a hermit; the Lindisfarne Gospels (s. VII, MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv), arguably the *flos florum* of Anglo-Saxon book art, was made to honour him.

In keeping with calendars of the Use of York, MS 94's calendar commemorates saints associated with Lindisfarne: King Oswald, at whose request Aidan travelled to Lindisfarne from Iona (another island monastery), St. Chad, a disciple of Aidan, and St. Cuthbert. Since Cuthbert lived much of his monkish life as a hermit, he may have been of particular interest to Lacy the anchorite; as an anchorite who was also a book artisan, Lacy may felt a certain self-recognition if he knew of Cuthbert's having been enclosed in his tomb with a small Gospel of St. John.[23] Among the group of artists to whom a tenth-century colophon attributes the Lindisfarne Gospels, Lacy could have found another spiritual ancestor in the person of Billfrith, the anchorite and metalworker who decorated the Gospels' shrine in Durham Cathedral.[24]

While the geology of Northumberland thus provides the grounds for a multifaceted legacy underwriting the production of MS 94, the pastures and hedges of Durham County's Wear Valley, to the south of Newcastle, would have furnished it with many of the materials for its production in the here and now of the first half of the fifteenth century. A broad corridor of gently rolling arable land (elevations range from 200 to 600 feet), much of the Wear Valley was first cleared and cultivated during the Roman period. During the Middle Ages, the valley fell within the boundaries of the estates of the Bishops of Durham. Under their control, its agricultural land was divided into townships, which were further divided into strips of pasture and farm land; in turn, these strips were cultivated by tenants living in the region's scattered villages and market towns.[25] Sheep farming in this area could have supplied parchment for books during any era, but late medieval book artisans may have had an especially ready supply since the labour shortage following the Black Death favoured turning arable land to pasture. This effect persisted through the first

[23] The fullest account of the Cuthbert Gospel, the cult of St. Cuthbert, and the Lindisfarne Gospels is M.P. BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (Toronto, 2003). See also "The St Cuthbert Gospel: The story of a book", a podcast with Simon Keynes, Michael Sadgrove, and Claire Breay available at the British Library's website (http://www.bl.uk./whatson/podcasts/podcast131764.html), accessed 25 June 2012.

[24] On Billfrith's work and status as an anchorite, see BROWN, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, pp. 7, 93, 102-104, and fig. 47.

[25] "Tyne and Wear Lowlands", in: *Countryside Character*, 1, *North East* (Sheffield, 2006), pp. 65-70, at pp. 66-67. Accessed at http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/publications/nca/tyne_and_wear_lowlands.aspx, 27 June 2012.

half of the fifteenth century, generously bracketing the period of Lacy's work on MS 94.[26]

Just as the parchment of MS 94 may have been a product of green Wear Valley pastures, the manuscript's own green expanses could have been derived from the hedges that set the valley's pasture land apart from land devoted to growing crops. As Oliver Rackham explains, hedges have been a part of the landscape of Great Britain since prehistoric times, and records of successive stints of hedge planting and maintaining survive from the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. During the Middle Ages, hedges were greatly favoured over walls for enclosing fields; moreover, given the early date of the Wear Valley's clearing and subsequent division into strips for farming, it is safe to assume that the region was a network of hedges by the early fifteenth century.[27] Complex ecological systems unto themselves, hedges are often composed of a wide range of plant species and offer food and shelter to an even greater variety of insects, rodents, and birds. A frequent constituent in the plant communities of British hedges is the shrubby buckthorn tree, significant to my discussion of the networks in which MS 94 inheres because the ripe berries of the buckthorn tree were the choice ingredient for making the bright green pigment that is a distinguishing trait of northern English manuscript production.[28] Called 'sap green', this green appears in both luxuriant swaths and select details in MS 94: in gowns, backgrounds, frames, calendar entries, the cuffs of pointing manicules, and even halos (for examples see the Plates).[29] It is impossible to know whether or not MS 94's green had its origins in hedge-grown buckthorn berries, for a green pigment like the one that pervades the manuscript was also concocted from a variety of plants besides buckthorn, including parsley, columbine, black nightshade, and iris, all native or naturalised to the British Isles.[30]

[26] B. DODDS, "Peasants, landlords and production between the Tyne and the Tees, 1349-1450", in: *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. C.D. LIDDY and R.H. BRITNELL (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 173-196 at pp. 190-191.

[27] O. RACKHAM, *The History of the Countryside* (London, 1986), pp. 183-186 and 188. On the history of hedges, see also T. WILLIAMSON, *Living Landscapes: Hedges and Walls* (London, 2002), pp. 11 and 18-27.

[28] On the palette of northern manuscripts, see FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, pp. 78-90.

[29] Thompson equates sap green with green made from buckthorn berries (THOMPSON, *Materials and Techniques*, pp. 169-171); Friedman cites a number of plants as falling in the category "sap greens" (FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, p. 79).

[30] THOMPSON, *Materials and Techniques*, pp. 171-73; FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, p. 79.

Uncertainty regarding its specific plant source notwithstanding, the widespread use of this colour among northern book artisans strongly suggests that the green pigment used in MS 94 was a product of the local flora.

As this exploration of the environs of medieval Newcastle has shown, MS 94's natural environment has been integrated into it on multiple levels. Extrusions of Northumbrian geology appear in the manuscript's texts while its writing terrains and greenery are coextensive with the animal and plant life of the Tyne and Wear lowlands. Indeed, the somewhat erratic sequence of sites in the manuscript in which this tour of its natural environment has resulted – from ink to text to gold leaf and blue pigment to the manuscript's position in a lineage of hermits' books to its parchment to its green pigment – points out the extent to which MS 94 remains sutured into the geo- and biocultural systems that gave rise to it – as if any point in the manuscript might not only draw a reader into the book but also lead an informed viewer back out to Lindisfarne, or Durham, or even to Ireland or Afghanistan. In this way, what this discussion has also shown is that any consideration of an object – be that 'object' material or mimetic – in the light of its physical habitat is likely to discover multiple points of commerce between the two. In the next section of this essay, I examine MS 94 less as an object securely situated in a range of intersecting natural systems than as the delimitation of a locale unto itself, a space – like Lacy's cell – that is in the world, but not of it. Like many medieval 'other worlds' – like St. Patrick's Purgatory or the fairy world of *Sir Orfeo*, for instance – the otherworldly domain that is associated with MS 94 has only one proper entrance: in this case, by way of the recto side of its first leaf.

A Closed Book: Lacy's Self-Translations

Before examining that first page and entering into an examination of MS 94 as a bookish annex to Lacy's anchoritic cell, it will be useful to consider the metaphysical aspects of anchorites' actual cells, which are suggested in two common figures used to describe them: the womb and the tomb. An anchorhold is a womb in a very practical sense since, as Alexandra Barratt points out, "the occupant's physical needs are provided with minimal effort".[31] The author of

[31] A. BARRATT, "Context: Some reflections on wombs and tombs and inclusive language", in: *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. HERBERT MCAVOY and M. HUGHES-EDWARDS (Cardiff, 2005), pp. 25-38, at p. 31.

the *Ancrene Wisse* goes so far as to compare an anchorite's cell to that best of all wombs, the Virgin Mary's. Speaking of Christ, he asks, "*Ant nes he him seolf reclus i maries wombe?*" ("And was he not himself a recluse in Mary's womb?").[32] If the womb metaphor highlights the potentially nurturing function of an anchorite's cell, the tomb metaphor emphasises its extreme isolation from everyday life. Indeed, this metaphor could not be more 'concrete' in one ceremony for an anchorite's enclosure: instructions for the *Reclusio Anachoritarum* in the Exeter Pontifical (MS London, British Library, Lansdowne 451, s. XIV) refer to the *reclusorium* as a sepulchre and direct the novice anchorite to say, stepping over its threshold, "*Hec requies mea in seculum seculi*" ("This is my resting place forever and ever").[33] In these attestations, the anchorhold is essentially a place of stasis – whether for feeding or resting – yet wombs and tombs are also sites that entail radical transitions, physical translations from one state of being into another. Accordingly, writings that pertain to anchoritic practice – to what an anchorite is to *do* in his or her cell – tend to represent contemplative life as a matter of finding and then dwelling in a mystic dimension in which one is utterly transformed.[34] A prayer in MS 94 reflects this notion: there the supplicant hopes that "*non indigne affeccioun ... pulle me doun fro þe sugred swetnesse of þi contemplacioun*" and, further, that he become "*partener & partable: of þi bountees be grace & fynalli to usen & be in possessioun of þi eternal blisse*".[35] An examination of MS 94 beginning with its first leaf suggests that for John Lacy the space of a book, along with the space of his cell, may also serve as a site of mystical practice; for this reason, it may yet offer us sightings of an anchorite and book artisan transformed.

[32] *Ancrene Wisse Edited from MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402*, ed. J.R.R. TOLKIEN (London, 1962: *Early English Text Society* (*EETS*), o.s. 249), p. 92; trans. A. SAVAGE and N. WATSON, *Anchoritic Spirituality:* Ancrene Wisse *and Associated Works* (New York, 1991), p. 186.

[33] *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter: A Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century: Printed from the Original, in the Possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter*, ed. R. BARNES (Exeter, 1847), p. 136. For a thorough analysis of ceremonies for an anchorite's enclosure, including their associations with the liturgy of extreme unction, see E.A. JONES, "Ceremonies of enclosure: Rite, rhetoric and reality", in: *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Space, Place, and Body within the Discourse of Enclosure*, ed. L.H. MCAVOY (Cardiff, 2008), pp. 34-49, especially pp. 43-44.

[34] For a discussion that deals specifically with spatial concepts and metaphors in Middle English writings on mysticism, see V. GILLESPIE, "Postcards from the edge: Interpreting the ineffable in the Middle English mystics", in: *Interpretation: Medieval and Modern*, ed. P. BOITANI and A. TORTI (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 137-165.

[35] DOYLE, "A prayer", p. 238.

The opening text of MS 94 (Plate 10) preserves Lacy's note of donation, which reads:

> *Orate p*ro *anima fr*atri*s Ioh*an*is lacy anachorite de ordine fr*atru*m p*re*dicatoru*m *noui Castri sup*er *Tyna*m *qui hoc p*ri*mariu*m *dedit d*omi*no Rogero Stonysdale Cap*ella*no eccl*e*sie s*anc*ti Nicholai noui Castri sup*er *Tyna*m *ad totu*m *tempus vite sue . et post morte*m *p*re*d*ic*ti d*o*m*mini *Rogeri volo ut tradat*ur *alii p*re*sbit*er*o d*ic*te eccl*e*sie s*ec*un*d*um *dispos*ici*o*ne*m d*ic*ti Rogeri ad t*er*minu*m *vite sue . 7 sic de p*re*sbit*er*o in p*re*sbit*er*um in eadem eccl*e*sia remanendu*m *du*m *modo durav*er*it . ad orandu*m *p*ro *anima p*re*dicti Iohannis lacy Anachorite . Anno d*omin*i mill*e*s*i*m*o CCCC*^{mo} *XXXIIIJ*^{to}.[36]
>
> Pray for the soul of Brother John Lacy anchorite of the Order of Preachers of Newcastle upon Tyne who gave (this volume) in the first instance to the reverend Roger Stonysdale, chaplain of St Nicholas's church at Newcastle upon Tyne, for the whole of his life, and after the death of the aforesaid Roger I will that it be given to the other priest of the said church according as the said Roger may dispose at the end of his life, and so from priest to priest in the same church it should remain so long as it lasts, to obtain prayers for the soul of the aforesaid John Lacy, anchorite: anno domini 1434.[37]

Recalling that an anchorite's vocation was not only to withdraw from the world but, further – as the Exeter rite clearly dramatises – to be dead to the world, we may discern that this epigrammatic inscription bears a certain resemblance to an epitaph. Like an epitaph, it is inscribed on what now serves as a memorial for a departed person; indeed, the text's specification that the book remain in the same church assures it the kind of permanence of location and tranquillity of environment afforded a funereal monument, even as it suggests that the book's memorial function is dependent in part on precisely such a set of material circumstances. Like many a late medieval epitaph, this text also requests that all comers – the bereaved and casual passers-by alike – pray for the soul of the nearby interred.[38]

[36] My transcription, with reference to HANNA, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 129-130.

[37] Pepler's translation (PEPLER, "John Lacy", pp. 397-398). Friedman understands *primarium* in this passage as referring to the kind of book the volume is, that is, a primer (FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, p. 53).

[38] For a sampling of medieval tombstone inscriptions, see T.F. RAVENSHAW, *Antiente Epitaphes (from A.D. 1250 to A.D. 1800)* (London, 1878), pp. 1-15.

Ian Reid points out that an epitaph "marks a liminal space where the body has been separated from the bereaved and deposited in the ground".[39] This note of donation is like an epitaph in this limit-marking respect as well, for by identifying Lacy as an anchorite, it evokes the space of his 'burial' in his anchorite's cell. As it happens, a modern owner of MS 94 has inadvertently reframed this short text so that it expands upon this evocation of anchoritic burial significantly. That owner has cut a rectangular opening out of folio 1 just adjacent to the text under consideration – most likely to abscond with an especially deluxe miniature – thus opening a window in the leaf onto an image of Christ in his tomb on folio 2. For a viewer looking at folio 1 recto, who is thus able to see a section of folio 2 as well, the resulting juxtaposition of pseudo-epitaph and tomb calls to mind a passage in Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, in which he describes an anchorite (here in a Middle English translation) as one who is willing, "*as a deed body to þis wordle, wyþ Crist to be buryed in a caue*".[40] Presented to the eye as a function of the book's three-dimensional space, this concurrence of text and image not only points out the nearness to Christ an anchorite may look for in his tomblike cell, but also suggests that a book – this book – may itself be the site of such a mystic burial. Even without folio 1's postmedieval remodelling, the note of donation makes this suggestion, for by binding the future disposition of Lacy's soul so closely with that of his book, it marks the book as a funereal enclosure that still preserves the emanations of Lacy's devotional and artistic practice.

While a comparison of this note of donation to an epitaph brings into view the enclosures – whether architectural or codicological – upon which it borders, the comparison also highlights a telling and productive ambiguity with respect to the text's supposed speaker, and in doing so hints at the transformative power of the realm beyond this opening page. At first glance we might read the text's opening exhortation, "Pray for the soul of Brother John Lacy ... who gave (this volume)" as an elliptical request with the sense "Pray for *me*, Brother John Lacy, *I*, who gave (this volume)", but when we see the inscription as a pseudo-epitaph, the identity of the speaker becomes less clear: he could be a close friend of Lacy's speaking on his behalf, perhaps Roger Stonysdale or even the "other priest"; alternatively, if it is Lacy himself, the text implies that

[39] I. REID, "Genre and framing: The case of epitaphs", *Poetics* 17 (1988), pp. 25-35, at p. 28.

[40] Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, ed. as *Aelred of Rievaulx's* De Institutione Inclusarum*: Two English Versions*, ed. J. AYTO and A. BARRATT (London, 1984: *EETS*, o.s. 287), p. 26.

he speaks from beyond the grave – a rarefied place at a remove from the one in which his physical body is enclosed. In view of its epitaphic character and its position at the outer periphery of the book, then, this elliptical address frames Lacy as if he were speaking from within the liminal dimension contained in MS St. John's 94.

The speaker's identity becomes more complex when the passage shifts mood from the imperative, second person address with which it begins to the first-person declarative in the phrase, "after the death of the aforesaid Roger I will that it be given to the other priest ... and so from priest to priest ... to obtain prayers for the soul of the aforesaid John Lacy". Reid has observed that the first-person voice of an epitaph tends implicitly to be that of the deceased, but that its use is "very different from the use of 'I' in conversation or in a letter"; instead, it "becomes a purely textual device that indicates nothing certain beyond itself".[41] For this reason, Reid argues, the identity of any given epitaphic 'I' may be multiple and must be divined from the inscription's textual and material contexts. Here again, it makes sense at first glance to read the referent of 'I' as Lacy. But taking into account the role of caretaker this 'I' assumes in relation to the book, together with the implications of the inscription's epitaphic resonances just outlined, we may arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the 'Lacy' to which it refers. In addition to referring to the historical character, John Lacy, whose latest surviving life record is, in fact, this very text, the 'I' of this note of donation also gives expression to a peculiarly bookish character: an anchorite who made writing – the signs, after all, of the absent or dead – a part of his spiritual practice, thereby enclosing and preserving himself in a bookish anchorhold of his own creation. As I show next, that 'I' – we could think of him as the genius of this bookish territory – still dwells in prayer for the soul of 'John Lacy' both in and as the writing enclosed within the confines of MS 94.

It was primarily the position of Lacy's note of donation at the threshold of MS 94 coupled with our knowledge of the tomblike conditions of anchoritic existence that activated a reading of it as an epitaph and, further, as an indexical sign pointing to a codicological version of Lacy. At two other points in the book I find graphic instantiations of Lacy's devotional practice – or, in his term, his "*awne vse*" – in and as his written and illuminated realm. The first of these is the gold-leaf passage on ff. 101v-102r quoted at the beginning of this essay. Here Lacy's illuminated text gives expression in written form to the

[41] REID, "Genre and framing", p. 26.

mystic ecstasy he depicts in his self-portrait on f. 16v. While in the self-portrait he pictured himself rapt in meditation from the confines of his cell, here he represents his devotional ardour in the material radiance of his writing. We may trace the full implications of that self-representation in the syntax of this passage's opening sentence, which effects a slight distinction between Lacy, the occupant of his cell, and Lacy the artisan both occupied with and transformed by his work. The sentence reads, "*Preyeth for þe saul of frere Ion lacy anchor and reclused in þe new castel vpon tynde þe wiche þat wrooth þis book and lymned hit to his awne vse*". Here the phrase "*þe wiche þat wrooth þis book*" is set in apposition to "*frere Ion lacy reclused in þe new castel upon tynde*", technically equating anchorite and book artisan. But the self-reflexivity of the reference "*þis book*", itself emblazoned in gold, also invites a recognition of the phrase "*þe wiche þat wrooth þis book*" as a translation or gloss of "*Ion lacy anchor and recluse*" into a somewhat altered character; indeed, it presents us with his role as the one – "*þe wiche*" – whose "*awne vse*" is enacted before our eyes: a practice of making and illuminating books that produces personal illumination as well. In addition, this passage suggests that "*þis book*" is also that translated Lacy's unique domain, a realm apart yet still crucially associated with the mundane cell of "*Ion lacy anchor and reclused in þe new castel upon tynde*".

Lacy forges a similar union between his written and spiritual estates in the space of another platform he constructs for himself in MS 94: a scroll-shaped S he fashions on f. 59r, on which he has inscribed the request "*ihu help lacy*" (Plate 11). That S begins the antiphon for Psalm 129, appearing here following the Psalm's concluding lines (the beginning of an antiphon was customarily sung before the Psalm and the entire antiphon sung after it): "*Si iniquitates observaveris domine, domine, quis sustinebit*" ("If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities: Lord, who shall stand it?").[42] Considered apart from its 'literal' epigraphic placement, the message "*ihu help lacy*" works as a personal response to the antiphon's plaintive sentiment; it works, in other words as a commentary on the psalm text. It is a commentary with a twist, though, for by inserting it into a meta-material niche that is at once a letter and a new writing surface, Lacy makes that commentary from a position that is, quoting the prayer mentioned above, "*partener & partable*" of the text as a specifically written object. Moreover, Lacy's illusionistic three-dimensional rendering of the letter

[42] Psalm 129:3, Douay trans. I am grateful to Anne Yardley for explaining to me the rationale for this antiphon's placement after its Psalm.

S lends an impression of depth to the parchment surface, thereby providing an environment in which Lacy in his guise as denizen of this book – here as an alphabetical character – may yet be glimpsed praying "*ihu help lacy*". In this way, just as his gold-leaf passage displayed the 'illuminating' effects of his artisanship, here Lacy 'literalises' that labour as a practice of transformative prayer. In both instances, Lacy's craft produces, reveals, and makes 'use' of MS 94 as the safe enclosure of a sacred other world.

An Open Book: Lacy's Invitations

While stark solitude was the definitive feature of anchoritic life, an anchorite was nevertheless an integral part of his or her community, which was thought to benefit from the anchorite's occupation with prayer and meditation. Beyond their contemplative practice, anchorites also provided an array of additional services to the world outside their cells. In particular, as Ann K. Warren explains, anchorites with a clerical background were "educated men and their talents accompanied them into their cells";[43] thus priests-turned-anchorites often continued some of their pastoral work, such as hearing confession, while scribes and scholars also remained productive. Lacy fell into this category of anchorites with extensive pre-recluse résumés, for along with a well-developed skill in the craft of book making, Lacy had been ordained a priest in 1398.[44] Information on the precise range of priestly duties Lacy may have performed from his cell is beyond recovery, but in MS 94 he has left a clear witness to a sense that pastoral service was an integral part of his anchoritic life. He forges this link most explicitly in his gold-leaf 'manifesto', where, having declared that he made the book for his "*awne use*" he adds, "*and aftur to othur, in exitynge hem to deuocion and preyers to god*". His concern for the spiritual well-being of his fellow Christians is also evident in the selection of texts he brings together in his book. Remarking on the range of texts in MS 94, A.I. Doyle writes,

> that the scribe united evangelical and pastoral interests with his ascetical vocation may be understood from the careful combination of the several sections of his book

[43] WARREN, *Anchorites and Their Patrons*, p. 24.
[44] For further details, see *supra*, n. 22.

> – liturgical primer, devout prayer, confessorial guidance, and contemplative instruction.[45]

To Doyle's list of types of aid to lay devotion included in MS 94, I would add one more: models for the use of books. One of these models is textual, the other pictorial; both invite readers, listeners, and viewers of Lacy's book to discover the other worlds onto which a book may open.

The textual model for using and dwelling upon a book appears in an *exemplum* Lacy attributes to the *Vitae Patrum*. It tells the story of two brothers: one is a layman, affable and well liked; the other is a clerk, irritable and mean-spirited. One day the bad brother asks the good brother how he came by his kindly disposition. The good brother generously explains that he has a book that he reads every day. His book has three leaves: one black, one red, and one gold. As he explains, in the black leaf he reads all of his sins; in the red leaf he sees the crucifixion and is reminded of Christ's sacrifice for him; in the gold leaf, he sees the joys of heaven. Reading his book every day, the brother explains, inspires him both to contemplation and to doing good works in the world. The lesson would seem to be clear enough, but there is an interesting imbalance in the length of prose devoted to describing each of these leaves, which complicates that otherwise straightforward message: the red and black leaves are described in passages of roughly equal length while the space given to the description of the gold leaf is twice as long as each of the others. It would seem that the good brother is possibly less than exemplary given this slight to the Passion leaf in particular, since meditation on the Passion was such a central part of late medieval piety, especially in the North.[46] In the context of my exploration of MS 94 as a liminal realm, however, the brother's description of the gold leaf succeeds instead in exemplifying a powerful engagement with a text. It begins, as the descriptions of the other leaves do, with a brief synopsis of what the brother 'finds' "*þer in*"; as the description continues, however, it is unclear whether the brother is talking about heaven itself or still reporting what he sees 'in' the leaf – or both. I quote only the first half of this lengthy section of the exemplum here:

> And therein I find, said he, the joys of paradise: that is, said he, joy without sorrow very peace, ever without discord, mirth and joy and gladness without end. There is

[45] DOYLE, "A prayer", p. 230.

[46] For a discussion of lay devotional focus on the Passion in northern England, see FRIEDMAN, *Northern English Books*, pp. 149-174.

> no malice nor evil will but ever perfect charity. There is clearness and day and never night. There is plenty and never need; there is rest without labour and each is glad of another's joy as of his own.[47]

The brother's repeated use of the pronoun *there* is the source of this passage's telling ambiguity: as it first clearly refers to the gold leaf and later seems to refer to paradise, it depicts the brother becoming transported by his reading from the *there* of the leaf into the *there* of the world – paradise, no less – that the leaf depicts.

While this exemplum models readerly transport into the world of a *text*, MS 94 also provides examples of readers – or viewers – already inhabiting a *book*. Small crowds of these exemplary characters are situated in initial letters in the Office for the Dead. In all but one initial, these cartoonishly rendered figures are shown in profile (for examples, see Plates 12 and 13); in a unique instance – from inside a letter O – they face the viewer (Plate 14). The figures portrayed in profile appear to gaze out of the initials they inhabit at the text and musical notation on the page; in this way they offer a mirror of themselves to viewers of MS 94 who also gaze onto the page, occupied with its letters and notes. The group inside the letter O is especially mirror-like since these figures face the viewer, but the direction of their gaze also gives an added dimension to the activity being mirrored. While the figures in profile reflect readers looking at the page – a flat surface – the faces in the letter O implicitly return the gaze of readers from across the space of the book and in this way position viewers within that space as well. Taking a closer look at that letter O and its inhabitants, we may notice that the decorative vertical bars across it bear some resemblance to the grille of a window; in fact, they resemble the bars across the window of Lacy's cell in his self-portrait (Plate 9). Recalling now that the textual environment here is the Office of the Dead and the connection between death and an anchorite's calling, we find that, like the people shown behind the bars of the letter O, we may be looking into the bookish annex to Lacy's cell from its outside. Or, indeed, since there are no bars to our view, we may discover that at this opening in Lacy's book, he has already included us in his illuminated realm where we may incline with him towards the divine.

In her review of the work of Iliazd (Ilia Zdanevich), contemporary book artist and book art theorist Johanna Drucker wrestles with the question of "how the book might be defined as an art form in a way which differentiates it from

[47] For the Middle English Text, see the Appendix; my translation.

being simply an artfully crafted object".[48] The question may be productively applied to MS St. John's 94; indeed, it might be productively applied to any medieval book since they are all handmade and, more often than not, 'artfully crafted' as well. In the case of Iliazd, Drucker concludes that his books rise to the level of an art form "in the selection of elements – images, text, materials – and the process by which they each evolve into a book which is uniquely expressive of Iliazd's aesthetic vision".[49] Given this as a criterion, MS 94 might also be deemed a work of art since, as I have shown, here images, text, and materials interact in a synergetic and often uniquely expressive way. Especially in this latter characteristic, MS 94 stands apart from the vast majority of finely produced medieval manuscripts.

But the very notions of 'art form' or 'aesthetic vision' are perhaps not applicable to the activities in which our anchorite and many other anonymous medieval book artisans were engaged. After all, book artists who, like Lacy, were also religious had for centuries engaged in the manual labour of writing and illuminating beautiful books as a contemplative practice and devotional service, rather than as an 'art form' in the contemporary sense; moreover, the 'vision' their work expressed, officially at least, was their love of God.[50] A more culturally appropriate lens for appreciating Lacy's book – one that might serve our examination of other medieval manuscripts as well – would be Drucker's second, implicitly less prestigious term, 'craft'. In his recent book *The Craftsman*, Richard Sennett maintains that "[e]very good craftsman conducts a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking".[51] By this criterion, John Lacy may certainly be counted a 'good craftsman', for as I have shown, MS 94 displays a habitual intermediation of Lacy's intellectual and spiritual occupation with the 'concrete practices' of book production.[52] Beyond that, Lacy's work also provides a glimpse of that head-hand dialectic's capacity to enclose any craftsperson in his or her own idiosyncratic work space: a space

[48] J. DRUCKER, *Figuring the Word: Essays on Books, Writing, and Visual Poetics* (New York, 1998), p. 195.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] The seminal study of the monastic community as one centred around reading and writing (i.e. copying) sacred texts is Jean LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1961); it should be noted, however, that, as a Dominican, Lacy was not attached to a monastery.

[51] R. SENNETT, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, 2008), p. 9.

[52] My use of the term 'intermediates' here borrows from Adam Sharr's discussion of Martin Heidegger's influence on architects: "a sensitivity toward ... a mutual intermediation of mind, body, and place" (A. SHARR, *Heidegger's Hut* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), p. 7).

associated with a place in the real world – a desk, a studio, a potter's wheel – yet for the craftsperson a world apart by virtue of his or her use of it for thinking and creating. In this way, at once an occupation and a space for occupying, Lacy's craft as it is preserved in MS 94 is uniquely expressive of his vision of a bookish anchoritic practice, that is, his "*awne use*".

Appendix: Exemplum of the Inspired Reader

In this edition, I have replaced Middle English characters [þ] and [3] with [th] and [y] respectively. Abbreviations have been expanded silently; manuscript punctuation and capitalisation have been emended sparely.

[f. 142v] ¶*We reden in uitas patrum of two bretheren and the alder brother was a clerke and the yinger brother was a lawed man. This clerke was an vn pacient man and an vn sufferabul and no fauered of hem that he dwelled with. This lawed man was a wondur pacient man and a meke and wel fauered of alle that he dwelled with. So vp on aday this clerke asked his brother how that he coom so to the uertu of paciens and of mekenes. And tha this yinger brother sayde be redynge of my book that I haf seide he. For I haf a book seide he that is of thre leues wretten and ilke a day enterely seide he I rede tham ouer and diligently I prynte the redynge in my hert and mynde And brother saide he vnderstond ye that the firste leef is wreten with letteres of golde; the secunde leef is wreten with letteres of reed, and the thridde leef is wreten with black letteres. and broþer saide he I begynne firste at the blacke leef and ther in I fynde seide he alle my synnes and myn vn kyndenes that I haf doon agaynes my maker god and myn agayne byer to mercy. And so than go I to the rede leef and reede it. And ther in I fynde the pouerte and the repreues and the bitter passions of oure lord ihu criste and of his mekenes and paciens that*[a] *he sufffered for my sake. And then I brynge to mynde the black leef of myn vn kyndenes and ther to I loke the reed leef of so grette kyndenes. And brother seide he this bryngith me to mekel to paciens and mekenes. For with outen mekenes it is vayne that we do. And then brother saide he I turne to the leef of gold. And ther in I fynde seide he the ioyes of paradise that is seide he ioye with outen sorn vere pees euer with outen discorde merthe and ioy and gladnes with outen ende. Ther is no malis ne yel wille bot euer parfit charite. Ther is clerenes and day and neuer night. Ther is plente and neuer neede; ther is reste with outen labur and ich is glad of otheres ioy as of his awne. Ther is noon heuynes bot murthe and ioy world with outen eende with angelis. And brother saide he wen that I haf ouer loked this leef well seide he, and the schertenes of this lyf that is schert and in no certen, then saide he I dispise my self and alle fleschely affeccions as fer as the wond of charite lesteth. And that is saide he ouer alle things we moste drede god and that keputh vs in charite and put*

away syn. The secunde is aman to dispise him self. And that wol brygen him to veray mekenes. And the thridde is specially to eschue and flee from euyll company both from men and wemen and that wol maken a man or woman contynuen and lasten in goodness ¶ Now thou man or womman that wost of what [f. 143] *degree thou be of sengul or weddeth wedu or religius lord or lady takuth entencion to þese .iii. leues and it wol brynge the to be haldyn of contemplacion and to grace. Seint gregor seith, Preuynge of loue is castinge forthe of the werke.*

[a] MS: *the*.

Translation

[f.142v] We read in *Vitas Patrum* of two brothers, and the older brother was a clerk, and the younger brother was a layman. This clerk was an impatient man and an insufferable and not favoured by them that he dwelled with. This layman was a wonder patient man and a meek and well favoured by all that he dwelled with. So upon a day this clerk asked his brother how that he came so to the virtue of patience and of meekness. And then this younger brother said, by reading of my book that I have, said he. For I have a book, said he, that is of three leaves written, and *ilke a day*[1] entirely, said he, I read them over. And diligently I imprint the reading in my heart and mind, and brother, said he, understand ye[2] that the first leaf is written with letters of gold; the second leaf is written with letters of red, and the third leaf is written with black letters. And brother, said he, I begin first at the black leaf and therein I find, said he, all my sins and mine unkindness that I have done against my maker God and mine again-buyer[3] to mercy. And so then go I to the red leaf and read it. And therein I find the poverty and the rebukes and the bitter passions of Our Lord Jesus Christ[4] and of his meekness and patience that he suffered for my sake. And then I bring to mind the black leaf of mine unkindness, and there too I look the red leaf of so great kindness. And brother, said he, this brings me to lowliness to patience and meekness. For without meekness it is vain that we do. And then brother, said he, I turn to the leaf of gold. And therein I find, said he, the joys of paradise: that is, said he, joy without sorrow, very peace ever without discord, mirth and joy and gladness without end. There is no malice nor evil will but ever perfect charity. There is clearness and day and never night. There is plenty and never need; there is rest without labour and each is glad of another's joy as of his own. There is no sadness but mirth and joy, world without end with angels. And brother, said he, when that I have overlooked this leaf well, said he, and the shortness of this life that is short and in no certain, then, said he, I despise myself and all fleshly affections as far as the rod of charity[5] reaches, and that is, said he, over all things. We must dread God, and that keeps us in charity and [we must] put away sin. The second is a man to despise himself. And that will bring him to very meekness. And the third is especially to eschew and flee from evil company, both from men and women, and that will make a man or

woman continue and last in goodness ¶ Now thou man or woman know this: [no matter] what [f. 143] degree thou be, single or wedded, widow or religious, lord or lady, take intention to these .iii. leaves and it will bring thee to be steady in contemplation and to grace. Saint Gregory says, *Preuynge of loue is castinge forthe of the werke*.[6]

[1] *Ilke a day* is idiomatic Middle English for 'every day'.

[2] Middle English *ye* and *thou* are the familiar forms, second-person singular and plural respectively, of the formal 'you'.

[3] The Middle English text has *agayne byer*, a calque of Latin *redimere*, 'to buy back' or 'to redeem'. The *agayne byer* referred to is Christ.

[4] The Middle English text has *our lord ihu criste* here.

[5] The Middle English text has "*wond* of charite" here. The *Middle English Dictionary* glosses *wond* as a "rod or switch used for punitive purposes, a scourge; – often in ascetic contexts" (s.v. *wond*). Its association with charity in this phrase resonates with a line in the poem *Lessons of the Dirige* (*c.* 1450): "*To 3erde of loue y moste me boun; Lord, me chastice wiþ þat wande*" (48).

[6] This quotation is from Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Euangelia*; the Latin text (ed. R. ETAIX (Turnhout,1999: *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 141), p. 256) is "*probatio ergo dilectionis exhibitioest operis*" ("the proof of love is shown by the deed"). Lacy may have known the phrase from Gregory or from any one of a number of works in which it appears, including Thomas Aquinas, *Super ad Habraeos reportatio*; Bede, *In Epistulas septem catholicos*; Aelred of Rievaulx, *De speculo caritatis*; Alcuin, *Commentarium in sancti Iohannis Euangelium*; and Alulfus of St Martin of Tournai, *Liber Gregorialis* (full-text editions can be found through the *Library of Latin Texts*, available on brepolis.net); and see also Peter Abelard, *Sic et Non*, Q. 138, ed. as *Peter Abailard, Sic and Non: A Critical Edition*, ed. B.B. BOYER and R. MCKEON (Chicago, 1977), available at http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/resources/abelard/Sic_et_non.txt. The aphorism also appears in the anonymous fifteenth-century *Book to a Mother*: "*And Seint Gregori seiþ þat prouinge of loue is dede doinge*" (*Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. A.J. MCCARTHY (Salzburg, 1981), p. 72). In Lacy's Middle English the text reads, "*Seint gregor seith, Preuynge of loue is castinge forthe of the werke*". His slightly odd-sounding *castinge forth* suggests that he may have misunderstood the Latin *exhibitio* or that he may have worked from a corrupt text, one that used *proiectio* instead of *exhibitio*, for which 'casting forth' would be a perfectly correct translation if somewhat at odds with the aphorism's sense.

Plate 1: *The Passion of Saint Margaret*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, twelfth century; ff. 63v-64r. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

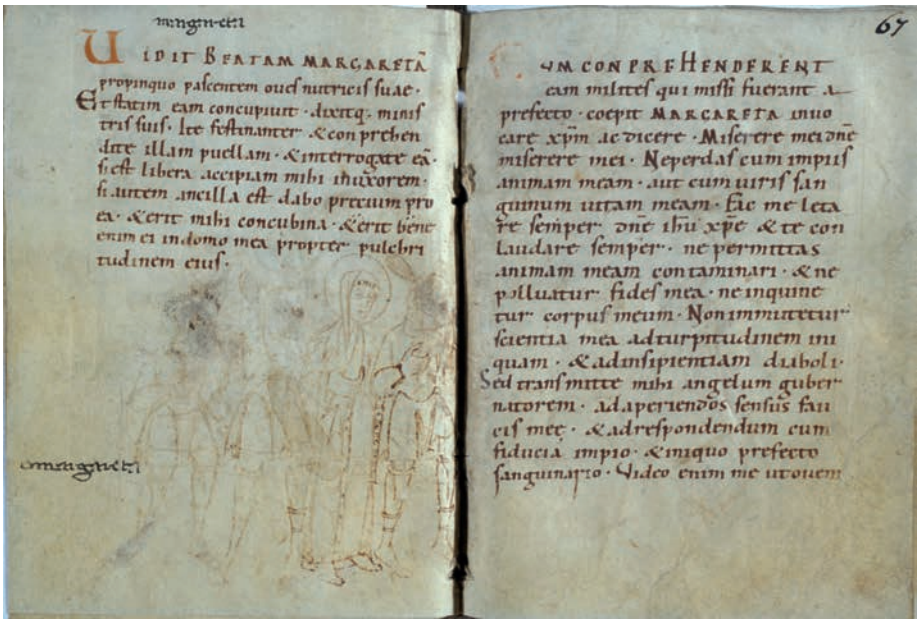

Plate 2: *The Passion of Saint Margaret*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, twelfth century; ff. 66v-67r. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

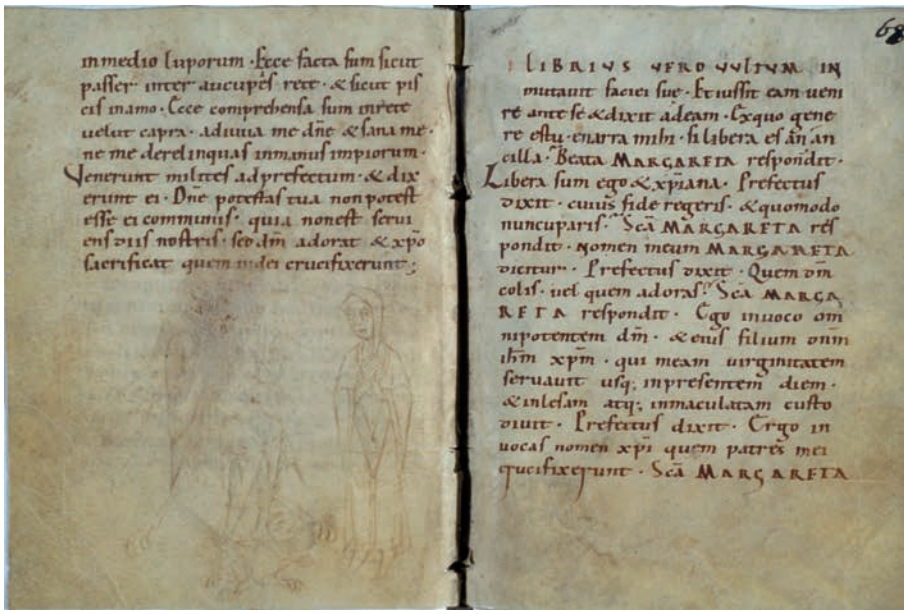

Plate 3: *The Passion of Saint Margaret*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, twelfth century; ff. 67v-68r. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

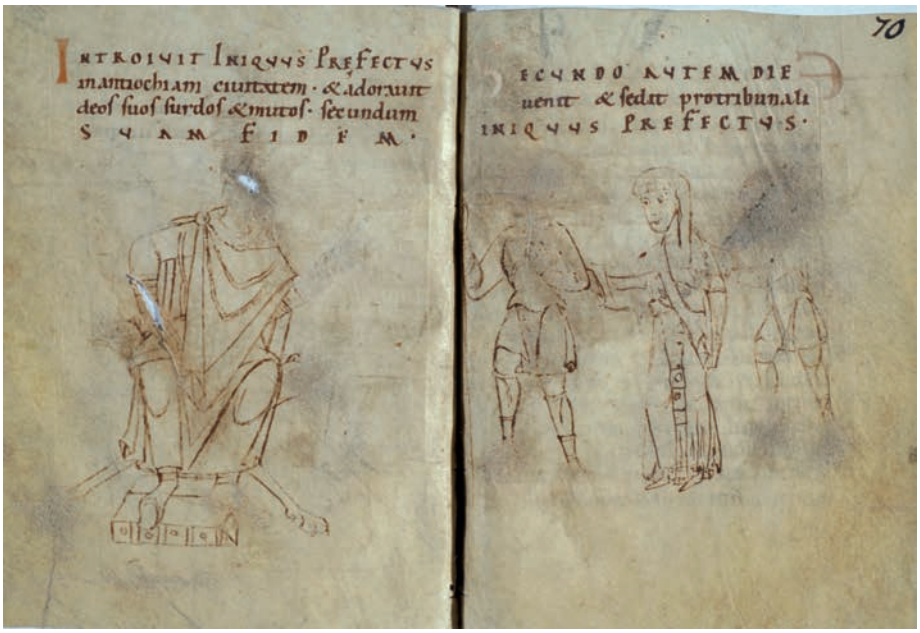

Plate 4: *The Passion of Saint Margaret*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, twelfth century; ff. 69v-70r. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Plate 5: St. Dunstan and the devil, Macclesfield Psalter, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Great Britain, *c.* 1330; f. 140r. Reproduced with permission of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 6: Saint Agatha cycle, Pamplona Bible martyrology, MS Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I. 2 .4° 15, 1199-1212; f. 247v. Reproduced with permission of Augsburg, University Library.

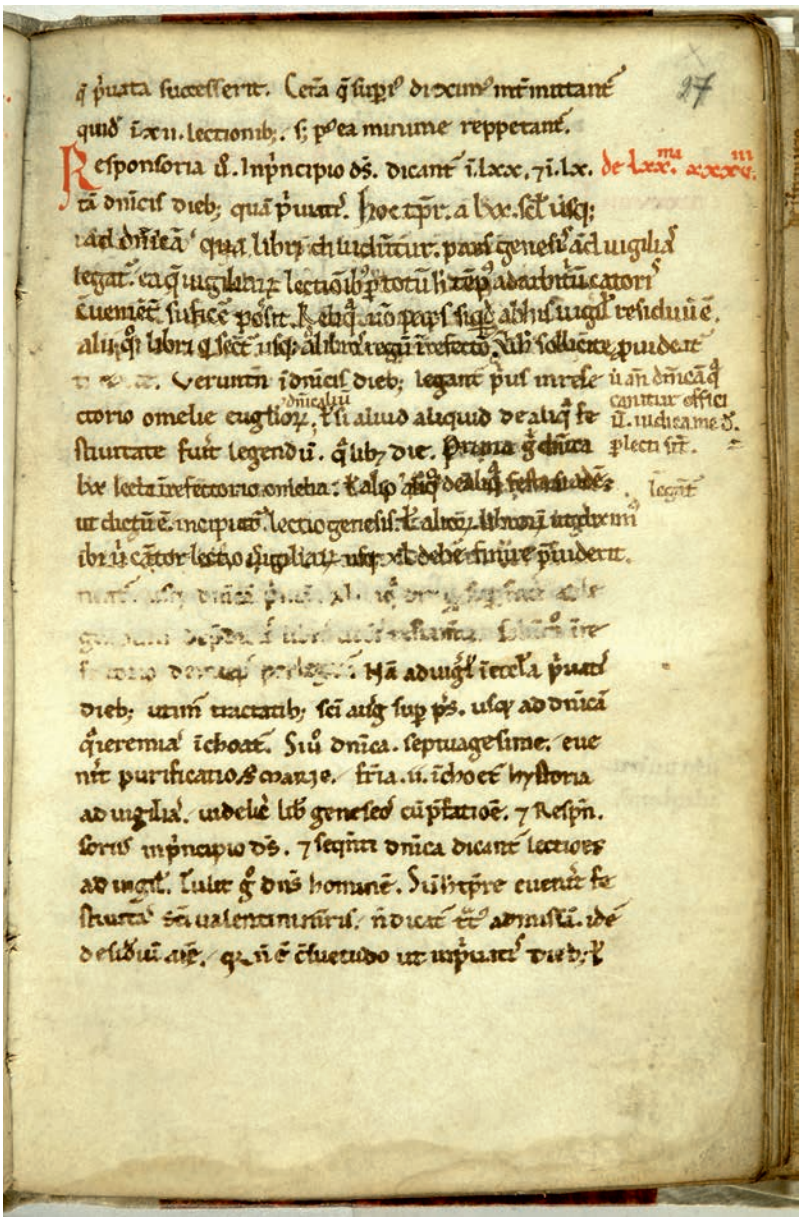

Plate 7: MS Trento, biblioteca comunale, MS 1711, f. 27r. Reproduced courtesy of Biblioteca comunale di Trento.

Plate 8: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, ff. 16v-17r. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

Plate 9: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, ff. 101v-102r. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

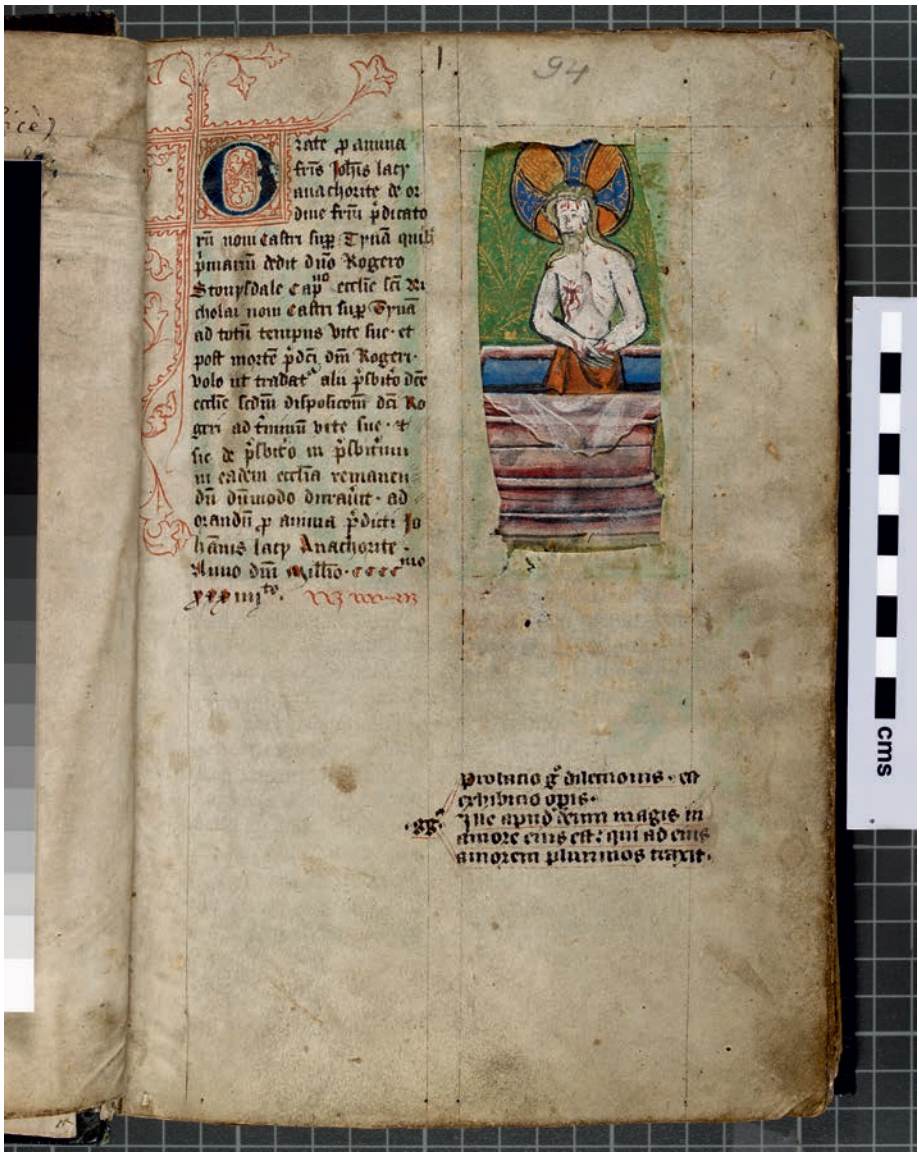

Plate 10: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, f. 1r (with a view through to f. 2r). Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

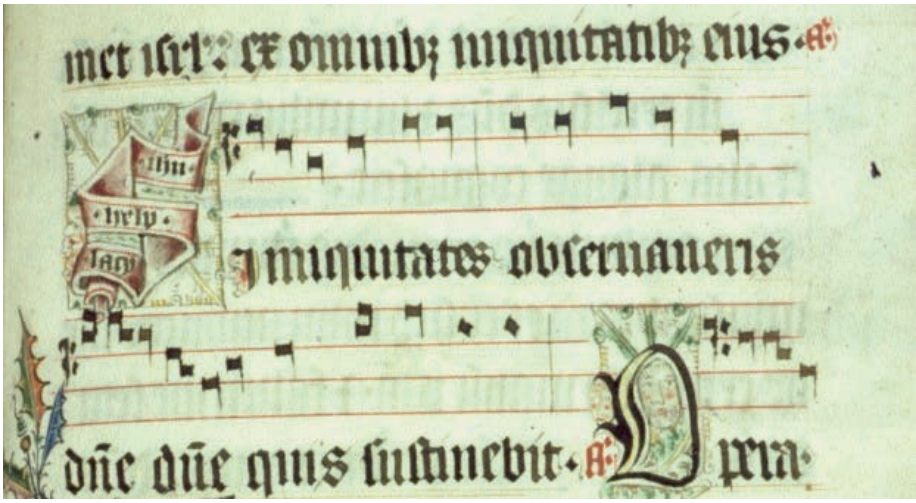

Plate 11: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, f. 59r, detail. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

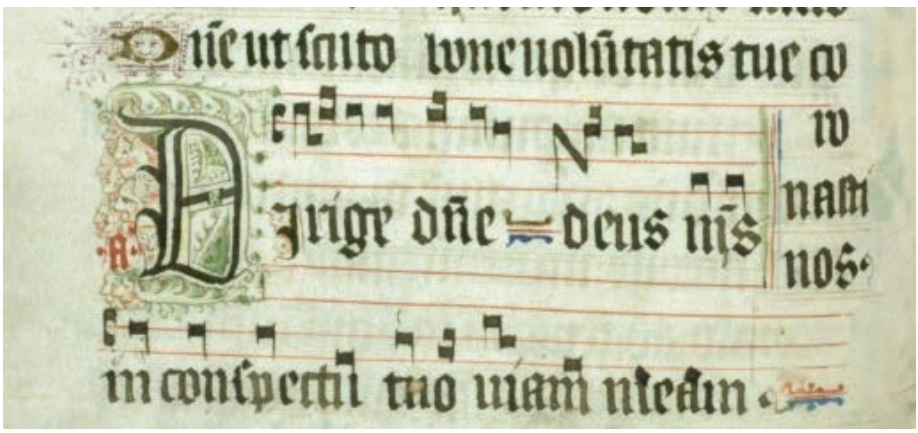

Plate 12: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, f. 63r, detail. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

Plate 13: Oxford, MS St. John's College Library, 94, f. 81r, detail. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

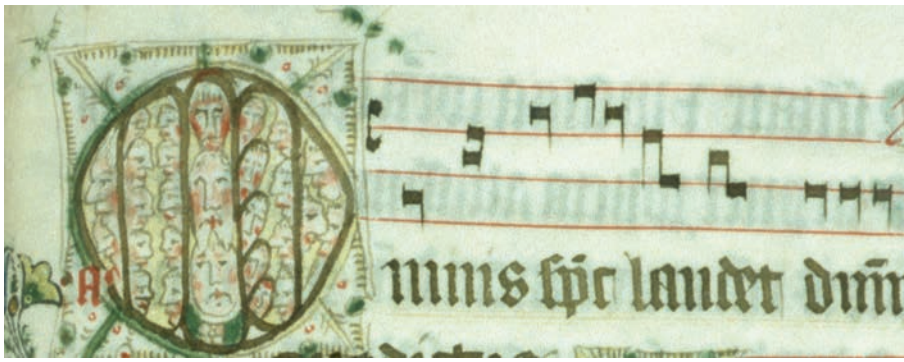

Plate 14: MS Oxford, St. John's College Library, 94, f. 88r, detail. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

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